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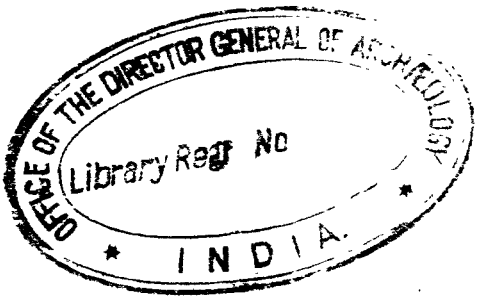
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JOURNAL

OF THE

CEYLON BRANCH

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,

VOLUME XXVIII

1919—21.

EDITED BY THE HONORARY SECRETARY.

891.05
J. R. A. S.

The design of the Society is to institute and promote inquiries into the History, Religions, Languages, Literature, Arts, Sciences, and Social Condition of the present and former Inhabitants of the Island of Ceylon.

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1925.

CONTENTS.

No. 72-1919. Page 1919

General Meeting: February 20, 1919 1

Council Meeting, March 21, 1919 2

Annual General Meeting: March 31, 1919 .. 4

Annual Report for 1918 4

Presidential Address 9

Paper read:

Notes on some of the Authorities for the History of the British in Ceylon, 1795-1805—by L. J. B. TURNER, M.A., C.C.S. 15

Council Meeting, August 11, 1919 36

General Meeting: September 29, 1919 38

Paper read:

Nágadípa and Buddhist Remains in Jaffna, Part II, by P. E. PIERIS, Litt. D. (CANTAB) C.C.S. 40

Plates: VIII—XVII.

Council Meeting: November 13, 1919 68

Paper not read:

Extracts relating to Ceylon from the Dag-Register, Batavia 1673, by F. H. DE VOS.. .. 69

Notes and Queries:

A Sinhalese Embassy to Egypt, by H. W. CODRINGTON, C.C.S. 82

Robert Andrews, by J.P.L. 85

A probable Origin of Kushṭharájagala, by W. A. DE SILVA 86

Sinhalese Occupation of the Jaffna Peninsula, by J. P. LEWIS 87

No. 73-1920.

	Page
	1920
Council Meeting: March 22, 1920	89
Council Meeting: June 7, 1920	90
Annual General Meeting: June 15, 1920.. ..	92
Annual Report for 1919	92
Some Observations about Adam's Peak, by A. NELL, M.R.C.S.	96
Council Meeting: October 21, 1920 .. .	100
General Meeting: December 14, 1920	101
Paper read:	
Ceremonial Songs of the Sinhalese, by W. A. DE SILVA	101
Papers not read:	
Chinese References to Ceylon: Notices of Ceylon in Tao I Chih Lüeh by Wang Ta-Yuan (A.D. 1349) translated from the Chinese by Prof. LIONEL GILES	118
Prince Tanniyavalla Báhu of Mádampe, by H. C. P. BELL, C.C.S. (Retired)	124
Plate: Chilaw Sannasa and Dondra Sannasa ..	
Notes and Queries:	
Margana, by H. W. CODRINGTON, C.C.S. ..	142
Śrípura, by H. W. CODRINGTON, C.C.S. ..	144
The Thupáráma Temple at Anurádhapura, by A. M. HOCART	145
Plates:	
1. Capital from the Tooth Relic Temple, Anurádhapura	
2. Do do do do	
3. Bovahisatt Simhananda Avalokiteswara	

No. 74-1921.

	1921
Council Meeting: February 4, 1921	147
Special General Meeting: February 22, 1921 ..	148
Council Meeting: March 30, 1921	149

	Page
	1921
Annual General Meeting: June 27, 1921 ..	150
Annual Report for 1920	151
Papers read:	
The Aryan Question in Relation to India, by W. F. GUNAWARDHANA, M.R.A.S., Gate Mudaliyar	158
Note on the above by A. M. GUNASEKARA, Mudaliyar	207
Note on the above by T. B. RUSSELL, C.C.S. ..	210
Council Meeting: August 19, 1921	214
General Meeting: November 2, 1921	216
Papers read:	
Articles used in Sinhalese Ceremonial Dancing, by W. A. DE SILVA	217
The Overlordship of Ceylon in the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, by S. C. PAUL, M.D.	229
Note on the above by Prof. S. KRISHNASVAMI AIYANGAR of the Madras University ..	275
Note on the above by Gate Mudaliyar SIMON DE SILVA	280
Note on the above by JOHN M. SENAVERATNA ..	282
Notes and Queries:	
The Kantarodai Finds, by P. E. P. ..	295
Andrews' Embassy to Kandy in 1795 and 1796, by J. P. LEWIS	295
Old Dutch Panel, by E. REIMERS	296
Right-hand and Left-hand, by H W CODRINGTON, C.C.S.	297
A Gift from Van der Parra, by P. E. P.	298

ERRATA

In No 73, for pp 1- 57 read 89—145
In No. 74, for pp 1-153 read 147—299

JOURNAL

OF THE

CEYLON BRANCH

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,

1919.

VOLUME XXVIII.

No. 72.—Parts I., II., III. and IV.

PAPERS.

NOTES ON SOME OF THE AUTHORITIES FOR THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH IN CEYLON, 1795-1805.

NÁGADÍPA AND BUDDHIST REMAINS IN JAFFNA.

EXTRACTS RELATING TO CEYLON FROM THE DAG-REGISTER, BATAVIA No. 1673.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

A SINHALESE EMBASSY TO EGYPT.

ROBERT ANDREWS.

A PROBABLE ORIGIN OF THE NAME KUSHTHARÁJAGALA.

SINHALESE OCCUPATION OF THE JAFFNA PENINSULA.

The design of the Society is to institute and promote inquiries into the History, Religions, Languages, Literature, Arts, Sciences, and Social Condition of the present and former Inhabitants of the Island of Ceylon.

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1921.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
General Meeting: February 20, 1919 ..	1
Council Meeting: March 21, 1919 ..	2
Annual General Meeting: March 31, 1919 ..	4
Annual Report for 1918 ..	4
Notes on Some of the Authorities for the History of the British in Ceylon, 1795-1805 ..	15
Council Meeting: August 11, 1919 ..	36
General Meeting: September 29, 1919 ..	38
Nágadípa and Buddhist Remains in Jaffna ..	40
Council Meeting: November 13, 1919 ..	68
Extracts Relating to Ceylon from the Dag-Register, Batavia, No. 1673 .	69
Notes and Queries:	
A Sinhalese Embassy to Egypt ..	82
Robert Andrews ..	85
A Probable Origin of the Name Kushṭharájagala	86
Sinhalese Occupation of the Jaffna Peninsula ..	87

JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

CEYLON BRANCH

GENERAL MEETING

Colombo Museum, February 20, 1919

Present:

Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., M.A., President, in the Chair.

Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt. D., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. M. T. de S. Amarasekara, L.L.B.
,, R. G. Anthonisz.
,, W. E. Bastian.
,, B. Chas. Cooray, Muhandiram.
,, A. de Souza.
,, F. de Zoysa.
,, P. E. S. Dharmasekara.
,, U. B. Dolapihilla.
Dr. A. S. P. Fernando.
Mr. C. H. Z. Fernando, B.A., L.L.B.
,, W. M. Fernando.
Mr. Herod Gunaratne.
,, P. T. P. Gunawardhana, Mudaliyar.
,, W. F. Gunawardhana.
Dr. C. A. Hewavitarana, M.D.
Mr. O. A. A. Jayasekara.
Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
,, S. C. Paul, M.D.
Mr. T. A. A. Raheem.
,, T. B. Russell, M.A., C.C.S.
,, John M. Senaveratne.
,, G. W. Sturgess, M.R.C.V.S.
,, F. A. Tisseverasingha.
,, S. Vythenathan, Mudaliyar.
,, S. H. Wadia, B.A., C.C.S.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S. } Honorary
,, Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S. } Secretaries.

Business:

1. The minutes of the last General Meeting held on December 13th, 1918, were read and confirmed.

2. Mr. Joseph announced that the fittings of the treasure chest of the last King of Kandy were laid out for inspection.

3. Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D., F.R.C.S., then read a paper on the overlordship of Ceylon in the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries. It is proposed to publish this paper in a later issue of the Journal.

COUNCIL MEETING

Colombo Museum, March 21, 1919

Present:

Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., M.A., President, in the Chair.

Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt. D., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. Simon de Silva, J.P., Gate Mudaliyar.	Mr. W. F. Gunawardhana, Mudaliyar.
,, W. A. de Silva, J.P.	Dr. C. A. Hewavitarana.
,, A. Mendis Gunasekara, Mudaliyar.	Mr. C. W. Horsfall.
	Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S. } Honorary
,, Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S. } Secretaries.

Business:

1. The minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 5th December, 1919, were read and confirmed.

2. The draft Annual Report for 1918 was discussed and approved.

3. It was decided that the Annual General Meeting be held on the 31st March, 1919.

4. It was resolved that the Government be asked to buy 50 copies of the Maldivian Linguistic Studies at Rs. 7.50 a copy and that a presentation copy be sent to the Sultan of the Maldives through Mr. Didi and that he be asked kindly to ascertain if the Maldivian Government will purchase any copies.

5. It was resolved that the Government be asked to give the Society its usual annual grant with effect from 1st October, 1919, and further, that in view of the present general high level of prices the Government be asked to increase the grant by Rs. 500.

6. The question of the translation and publication of the Chinese References, to which Government offered a contribution before the war, was discussed, and it was decided that the matter should stand over for the present.

7. The question of Office-Bearers for 1919 was considered and certain proposals were agreed to be put before the Annual General Meeting.

8. The following were elected members of the Society:—

(a) Frederick Richard Senanayaka, B.A., M.M.C.: recommended by	C. H. Collins. Gerard A. Joseph.
(b) George E. Harding: recommended by	Leigh Smith. Gerard A. Joseph.
(c) V. M. Muttukumaru: recommended by	Andreas Nell. Gerard A. Joseph.
(d) Peter Mortimer: recommended by	F. A. Tisseverasingha. K. Balasingham.
(e) Medagama Gunaratna, Thero.: recommended by	M. B. Medagama. U. B. Dolapihilla.

(f) Ponnaidhu Felix Fernando: recommended by	K. Balasingham. C. H. Z. Fernando.
(g) R. L. Spittel, F. R. C. S., L.M.S.: recommended by	A. Nell. Gerard A. Joseph.
(h) H. R. Gunaratne: recommended by	S. W. K. Wipulasena-sabha. N. K. S. Bharatinda.
(i) Welipatanwila Sri Deepankara Sthavira: recommended by	W. M. Fernando. A. de S. Kankaratne.
(j) T. R. Mitchell: recommended by	Andreas Nell. W. A. Cave.
(k) William Wadsworth: recommended by	S. C. Paul. A. Nell.
(l) Samuel Jebaratnam Christian Kadirgamar: recommended by	Andreas Nell. K. Balasingham.
(m) Simon Richard de Fonseka, (jr.): recommended by	C. H. Collins. Gerard A. Joseph.
(n) Basil Walter Cuthbert Leefe: recommended by	Gerard A. Joseph. C. H. Collins.
(o) Benedict Solomon Mendis: recommended by	A. S. Beaty. K. W. Atukorala.
(p) Dias Dharmadasa Senanayaka Mutukumarana: recommended by	F. D. Jayasingha D. D. C. Mutucumarana.
(q) Adolphus Simon Peter Fernando: recommended by	C. A. Hewavitarana. Gerard A. Joseph.
(r) Martinus P. Siriwardhana: recommended by	W. F. Gunawardhana. J. J. de Mel.
(s) W. Somalokatissa Sthavira: recommended by	S. W. K. Wipulasena-sabha. R. Dhiralankara.
(t) Francis T. Senaveratne: recommended by	B. Horsburgh. E. B. Denham.

9. A letter dated 12th December, 1918, from Mr. F. Lewis, with regard to his paper on "Monastical and Sacred Trees in Ceylon" was read.

10. A letter dated 9th January, 1919, from the Government Agent, N.C.P., *re* the column dug up near the Abhayagiri Dagoba, in which he stated that the column had been labelled, was laid on the table.

11. A proposal from Dr. A. Nell, suggesting that for all future resident members subscription be Rs. 15 per annum, and entrance fee Rs. 10, was considered and it was decided that the matter do stand over for future consideration.

12. It was resolved that the congratulation of the Council be conveyed to its Vice-Patron, the Hon'ble Mr. R. E. Stubbs, C.M.G., on his appointment as Governor of Hong Kong and that he be thanked for the interest he had taken in promoting the welfare of the Society.

13. A proposal by Dr. A. Nell, suggesting that a sub-Committee be appointed to collect notes, information from residents, copies of drawings, sketches, and photographs and maps regarding Colombo in the 18th and 19th centuries was considered, and it was resolved that a sub-Committee consisting of Dr. A. Nell, Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, Dr. C. A. Hewavitarana, and Mr. Gerard A. Joseph be appointed to go into the matter.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Colombo Museum, March 31st, 1919.

Present:

The Hon'ble Mr. R. E. Stubbs, C.M.G.,
Vice-Patron, in the Chair.

Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., M.A., President.

Sir J. T. Broom, Kt.
Mr. D. Buddhadasa.
,, E. B. Denham, B.A., C.C.S.
The Ven'ble Mr. F. H. de Winton.
Mr. W. M. Fernando.
Mr. J. G. C. Mendis, M.A.
Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.
Mr. W. Samarasinghe.
,, N. D. A. S. Wijeyesinha.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S. } Honorary
,, Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S. } Secretaries.

Business:

1. The minutes of the last General Meeting held on the 20th February, 1919, were read and confirmed.

2. Mr. Gerard A. Joseph read the Annual Report, of which the following is a summary:—

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1918.

The Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have the honour to submit their Report for the year 1918.

The year which is now brought under review is the fifth and, fortunately, the last "War" year. It has been the endeavour of the Council to continue the activities of the Society as far as possible throughout the war, and the Council hope this object has been realised to a very considerable extent, as the following report will show, during the year 1918. On the whole the Society has prospered except in regard to finances, a matter that will be dealt with later on. Now that hostilities have ceased and peace is in sight, a forward policy should be adopted and every endeavour used to stimulate interest in the various matters, inquiries into which it is the aim and design of the Society to promote.

In this connection the Council congratulates itself on having secured Sir W. H. Manning as Patron of the Society. His Excellency has, by accepting this office and by presiding at the General Meeting held in December, shown his interest in the Society's work, and this is a sure sign that the cordial relationship, which has always existed between the Society and the Government in the past and which has been productive of so much that is of value to the country, will be continued and become even more marked in future.

MEETINGS AND PAPERS.

Four General Meetings and four Council Meetings were held during the year.

PUBLICATIONS.

One of the most important features of the year's work has been the printing of an English translation of Geiger's Maldivian

Linguistic Studies. The translation from the German was made by Mrs. Willis and the work was edited by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, who has enriched it with three most useful appendices, and a number of illustrations. The printing was done at the Government Press. The cordial thanks of the Society are due to Mrs. Willis and to Mr. Bell for this most interesting, useful and important work.

Journal XXIV., No. 68, Part ii. and Journal Vol. XXVI., No. 70, Parts ii., iii., and iv. were issued during the year.

Members.

The Society has now on its roll 359 members; of these 9 are Honorary Members and 42 are Life Members.

Deaths.

The Council have to record with regret the deaths of His Excellency Sir John Anderson, Patron of the Society, Messrs. D. S. S. Mahanama, V. J. Tambipillai, Rev. Father J. Pahamuney and Mr. F. J. de Saram.

The death of His Excellency Sir John Anderson was a serious loss both to the Society and to the Island. The Annual Meeting of the Society, which had been fixed for the 22nd March, was postponed, as he was then seriously ill. Sir John Anderson died on the 24th March. A special meeting of the Council was held on the 27th March when the following resolution was passed: "That the Council of the Society do place on record the grief of this Society on the death of its Patron, His Excellency Sir John Anderson, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., L.L.D., and express to Captain and Mrs. Anderson and the other members of his family their deep sympathy with them in their bereavement."

Council.

Under Rule 20, Mr. C. W. Horsfall and Dr. J. Pearson retired by seniority and the Hon'ble Mr. K. Balasingham and Mr. R. W. Byrde by least attendance and also under Rule 18 Mr. C. Hartley, the Senior Vice-President, retired by longest continuous service. The three vacancies on the Council were filled by Mr. C. W. Horsfall, Gate Mudaliyar Simon de Silva and Dr. C. A. Hevavitarana and the vacancy as Vice-President by Sir Anton Bertram.

Archæology.

There is little to report under this head as, owing to the reasons given in the statements for the past few years, the Government has been able to do little more than was necessary for the general conservation of those objects of archæological interest that had been already cleared and restored.

The Council of this Society have learnt with pleasure however, that the Government took steps, almost immediately on the cessation of hostilities, for the appointment of an Archæological Commissioner in succession to the late Mr. Ayrton. The post is by no means an easy one to fill and the officer who is appointed may require a period of special training before he can take up duties in Ceylon, but it affords the Council great satisfaction to be able to report that there is every likelihood of the work of the department being restarted and continued with fresh vigour in the near future.

Very considerable interest has centred during the year in the so-called "Demala-Mahá-Séya" Paintings at Polonnaruwa. These paintings, which are among the finest of their kind extant, are unfortunately disappearing. A complete set of copies of the paintings as they exist at present has been made by Mr. W. M. Fernando of the Archæological Commission and now adorns the walls of the Colombo Museum. Mr. Joseph, the acting Director of the Museum, and Mr. W. M. Fernando, deserve the special thanks of the Society for this useful work and the Council hope that the generous example of those gentlemen, who contributed towards the cost, will be followed by others. The Council are glad to be able to report, that though it will probably not be possible to prevent further deterioration of the original paintings, steps are being taken by the Public Works Department to afford them such protection as is possible in their present condition. A copy of an old painting at the Hindagala Vihara near Kandy has been made by Mr. Fernando for the Colombo Museum. Of this painting Sir John Marshall, K.C.I.E., Director General of Archæology, India, and Monsieur A. Foucher of the Paris University, say: "It appears to be a very good piece of work, approximately of the seventh century A.D." On representations made by the Council, steps are being taken to have the antiquities stored in the Archæological Museum at Anuradhapura numbered and listed with reference to the locality where they were found, etc. A set of new registers is being opened by the acting Director, Colombo Museum, giving full particulars in regard to sculptures and inscriptions in the museum, which should prove of great interest to Archæologists.

Library.

The additions to the library include parts of periodicals numbered 94.

The library is indebted for donations to the following:—The Government of India; The Government of Siam; The Government of Ceylon; The Pali Text Society, London; The Manager, National Monthly; The Editors, Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register; The Director, Colombo Museum; and the Mysore Archæological Department, India.

Finances.

The annexed balance sheet discloses a balance of Rs. 495.45 to the credit of the Society. The receipts last year amounted to Rs. 6,673.06, while expenditure was Rs. 6,177.65.

The accounts in regard to the sales of Papança Sudani (Chalmers' Oriental Text Fund) are also annexed.

The state of finances of the Society had been a cause of considerable anxiety to the Council. The Society has passed through the period of the war without any serious diminution of its activities but, like other institutions, it has suffered by the general rise in prices, and by the fact that the Government contribution has been withdrawn during the whole period of the war. Moreover the printing of the Maldivian Linguistic Studies referred to above has been somewhat of a drain on its resources. Difficulty has been experienced in the recovery of arrears of subscriptions, and a number of names have had to be struck off on this account. The Council however relies on the co-operation of members, and the Treasurer will be greatly helped if all members will pay their subscriptions promptly.

The Council is indebted to Mr. Herbert Tarrant for kindly auditing the accounts, a work he has done for many years.

Balance Sheet of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for the Year 1918

RECEIPTS.		Rs.	Cts.	EXPENDITURE.	Rs.	Cts.
Balance from 1917		3,345	77	Charges (stationery, hiring chairs, etc.) ..	460	69
Entrance fees		157	50	Salaries	1,236	92
D'oyly's Diary Fund (by sales, etc.)		884	00	Printing	4,181	12
Sundries		367	79	Books	16	00
Annual Subscription for				Postages	199	90
1919 Rs.	68·25			Petty cash (Sunday and rickshaw allowances) ..	77	85
1918 ,,	1,156·25			Sundries (Bank charges, etc.) ..	5	15
1917 ,,	372·75			Balance for 1919	95₮	43*
1916 ,,	209 00					
1915 ,,	101·25					
1914 ,,	10 50	1,918	00			
Total Rs.		6,673	06	Total Rs...	6,673	06

* Outstanding liabilities at the end of the year, Rs. 1,732 40.

Audited and found correct.
(Sgd.) HERBERT TARRANT.
24-3-19.

(Sgd.) GERARD A. JOSEPH,
Honorary Treasurer.

The Chalmers' Oriental Text Fund, 1918

RECEIVED.	No. of Copies.
Balance in stock, 1918	684
Total	684

	No. of Copies.
Booksellers, etc.	629
Free	1
Balance (retained to distribute among libraries) ..	54
Total	684

RECEIPTS.	Rs.	Cts.
Balance from 1917	992	65
Sales, etc.	939	00
Total Rs.	1,931	65

	Rs.	Cts.
Balance in stock	1,931	65
Total Rs.	1,931	65

Audited and found correct.

(Sgd.) HERBERT TARRANT.
24-3-19.

(Sgd.) GERARD A. JOSEPH,
Honorary Treasurer.

Dr. S. C. Paul moved the adoption of the report. Mr. N. D. A. S. Wijayasinha seconded. The motion was carried unanimously.

3. The Ven'ble Mr. F. H. de Winton proposed the election of the following Office-Bearers:—

Patron:
His Excellency Sir W. H. Manning.

Vice-Patron:
The Rt. Rev. Dr. E. A. Copleston, D.D.

President:
Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., M.A.

Vice-Presidents:
Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt.D., C.C.S.
The Hon'ble Sir Anton Bertram, Kt., M.A., K.C.

Council:

Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.	Mr. Simon de Silva, Mudaliyar.
Mr. A. M. Gunasekara, Mudaliyar.	Dr. C. A. Hewavitarana, M.D.
,, W. A. de Silva, J.P.	The Hon'ble Sir S. C. Obeyesekara, Kt.
,, F. Lewis.	Mr. R. G. Anthonisz.
,, W. F. Gunawardhana, Mudaliyar.	Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D., F.R.C.S.
,, C. W. Horsfall.	Mr. E. W. Perera.

Mr. Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S., Honorary Treasurer.

Messrs. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., and Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S., Honorary Secretaries.

Mudaliyar W. Samarasinha seconded—carried.

4. Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam delivered the following:—

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

On behalf of the Office-Bearers and the members of the Council, whom you have been good enough to re-elect, I thank you for this mark of your appreciation and confidence, which we will do our best in the future to merit. The efficiency of a Society like this depends, in large measure, on the zeal and ability of the Secretaries. I cannot speak too highly of the services of Messrs. Collins and Joseph during the critical period of the Society's history. We regret very much that this will be the last occasion on which we shall be honoured with the presence of our Chairman, who has always taken great interest in our welfare. The Society's loss will, however, be the gain of Hong-Kong. We congratulate him as well as that Colony. This Society, which had been in contemplation and preparation from so far back as 1814, was actually founded in February, 1845, and we are therefore in the 75th year of our existence and among the oldest literary Societies in the East. We celebrated our Jubilee in 1895 under the distinguished auspices of the late Metropolitan of Calcutta, then our President. If the times had been more propitious, if the blighting influence of the war was not still weighing upon us, we should have made an endeavour to celebrate worthily what is more than our Diamond Jubilee. It is interesting to recall that the Society began its life with 34 members and now counts more than ten times that number. There was not one Ceylonese member then, and now Ceylonese form the great majority. This is a

measure of the progress of education among us and is all the more creditable, as we have no facilities in the Island for higher education and research. Though we are not able to celebrate the attainment of our 75th year, we should be failing in our duty if we did not remember with love and gratitude our founders and benefactors, the innumerable men of whose learning and zeal we are enjoying the fruits, who, amid not very genial surroundings and the cares of profession and business, toiled and laboured with the kindest wishes and hopes for us, who have left us records of all they were able to learn of Ceylon, its past and present, about the facts of nature and history, about climates and seasons and places, birds and beasts and shells, men and plants and antiquities, about the laws of life and death, who left us the story of their efforts, their triumphs and failures, for warning or example. The sum of their toil is incalculable, and all they have given us ought to be sacred, if only by reason of the infinite labour and thought it cost. Not only should we bear them in undying remembrance and utter the gladness of our thanks, but we owe it to them to preserve and improve the precious inheritance and hand it down to those who come after us. The portraits of some of these benefactors should hang in the Society's rooms as a stimulus and an inspiration to us—such men as our first President and Vice-President, Mr. Justice Stark and Dr. MacVicar; our first Secretary Knighton, the historian; and among his successors Messrs. John Capper, John Harward, H. C. P. Bell, to all of whom the Society owes lasting gratitude for years of efficient and zealous service; Dr. Copleston, the late Metropolitan of Calcutta, who held the position of President for seventeen years; his predecessor the late Col. Fyers, the Surveyor General, who held the office in the previous decade; scholars such as Rev. Messrs. D. J. Gogerly and Spence Hardy; scientists such as Gygax, Layard, Kelaart, Legge, Trimen, Willey; Governors Sir Wm. Gregory and Sir Arthur Gordon, our Patrons, to whose enlightened and generous sympathy we owe respectively the Museum and the Archæological Department, which this Society had long pressed on Government; Civil Servants such as Sir John Dickson, Sir James Swettenham, Childers, Rhys Davids, Nevill, Gray, White, Burrows, Lewis; Vice-Presidents Dr. Boake and George Wall; President John Ferguson and his nephew Donald Ferguson, a voluminous contributor to our Journals. Among Ceylonese might be named, in addition to Kelaart already mentioned, Simon Casie Chetty of the Civil Service, James de Alwis, Maha Mudaliyar de Zoysa, Sir Muttu Coomaraswamy, Dandris de Silva Gunaratne Mudaliyar, Leopold Ludovici, Louis Nell, C. M. Fernando and others, who have passed away.

The Report you have heard read shows, I trust, that the Society is pursuing its activities in a manner worthy of its past and has during the year turned out a fair amount of good work in spite of serious difficulties and embarrassments due to the war. Our financial condition has, as the Report mentions, been a source of great anxiety, especially with the loss of the annual grant from Government and of the facilities for printing at the Government Press. These were privileges we have long enjoyed, as the Government recognised that we were doing work of great public utility, some at least of which would have to be done by Government itself if the Society did not exist. His Excellency Sir West Ridgeway in addressing us in 1897, said: "You may be independent of Government, but Government is not independent of you.

Much of the scientific work undertaken by the Government of Ceylon has been due to the insistence of this Society." The compilation of Vital Statistics now done by the Registrar-General and the Meteorological work of the Surveyor-General were activities begun and carried on for years by the Society. Our zoological collection was the nucleus of the collection now in the Museum, which Sir William Gregory erected on our representation, as later the Archæological Department was created by Sir Arthur Gordon. We have from time to time published important works on Ceylon and its dependencies such as, to mention only recent publications, Sir John D'Oyly's Diary of the events of the passing of the Kandyan Provinces under British rule, Andrews' Diaries of the British Embassies to Kandy and his tour in the Kandyan districts, Professor Geiger's *Maldivian Linguistic Studies*. Though Government has purchased copies of some of these publications, the actual cost of printing has been far from met. We venture to think that, while the members of the Society gladly contribute their brains, learning and labour, the Government help should at least be sufficient to cover the charges of printing. We have renewed our application for an annual grant and trust that, now the war has happily ended, the application will receive favourable consideration and that the grant will be increased to enable us to meet the great increase in prices since the amount was fixed many years ago. But for the Society's financial straits it could have done much more during the past five years and could do more in the future in various branches of research in which work has been suspended. Prof. Geiger's Maldivian Studies, excellently translated for us in 1913 by Mrs. Willis from the German, could not be published till this year. Mr. Bell, who has edited it with his usual thoroughness and seen it through the press, enriching it with valuable appendices and notes, has laid the Society and the public under great obligations by this labour of love accomplished at great personal inconvenience. Our thanks are due to the Government for allowing it to be printed at the Government Press, which alone in Ceylon is able to cope adequately with the exigencies of such a work. We are also grateful to our late Vice-President, Mr. J. P. Lewis, for devoting some of his well-earned leisure in his retirement to editing Andrews' Diaries, which throw much light on the beginnings of the political relations of Great Britain with Ceylon.

The great historical work of Fernao de Queiroz, the *Conquista de Ceylao*, which was originally discovered by the late Papal Delegate, Mgr. Zaleski, and of which a copy obtained from Brazil by Mr. Paul Pieris was acquired by the Ceylon Government and printed in 1916 at the Government expense, will, I am glad to say, be at no distant date available in an English dress. The work of translating and editing it has been kindly undertaken for Government by the well-known Jesuit Father and scholar, the Revd. S. G. Perera, S. J. Fernao de Queiroz was a Portuguese Jesuit priest, who rose to be the Provincial Superior of the Order in the East and died in Goa in April 1688. While in the East he had access to official records and other authentic sources of history now lost, and his account compiled from them of the rise and fall of the Portuguese rule in Ceylon is of surpassing value for the period it covers.

Among the lectures organised by the Society during the year, two fascinating lectures deserve special mention: one by Dr. A. H. Sayce, Professor of Assyriology at Oxford, on the recent

excavations at Meroe, the ancient capital of Ethiopia; and the other by Dr. A. Nell on the Origins and Styles of Ancient Stone Architecture in Ceylon. The public is greatly indebted to the Acting Director of the Museum, Mr. Joseph, for the beautiful copies made at his instance by Mr. W. M. Fernando of the fast disappearing paintings in the Demala Maha Seya at Polonnaruwa. These copies with others previously made by him were exhibited and explained at a meeting of the Society and are now hung in the Museum. Of not less interest was the painting discovered by our late Secretary, Mr. Codrington, at Hindagala Vihara near Kandy and of which a copy made by Mr. Fernando is also hung at the Museum. Professor Foucher of the University of Paris, who has recently seen it, thinks highly of it as a work of Buddhist Art and assigns it to the 7th century. How so ancient a painting came to be made in that neighbourhood remains a mystery, which may perhaps be solved when the inscriptions, of which estampages and eye-copies have been sent to the Director-General of Indian Archæology, Sir John Marshall, have been deciphered and translated. The generosity of our late Governor, Sir Robert Chalmers, has provided this Society with a reproductive fund for the publication of critical recensions of the Buddhist Pitakas and Atthakathas by the best scholars of the Island in a manner worthy of the best traditions of Pali scholarship. The series is called the Alu Vihara Edition, after the famous rock temple of Alu Vihara, where the Buddhist Scriptures were first reduced to writing 2,200 years ago. The first work undertaken was *Papanca Sudani*, the Commentary of the great Buddhaghosa on the *Majjima Nikaya*, and was entrusted by Sir Robert Chalmers to a distinguished scholar, the late High Priest Sri Dhammarama of the Vidyalankara College. One volume was published last year and the remainder is being carried through the press by his pupil and successor, the High Priest Dhammananda. The High Priest Nanissara has been entrusted with the preparation of the *Samanta Pasadika*, the Commentary on the Vinaya Pitaka, and it will probably take a year to complete.

I referred in my address last year to what is perhaps the most memorable work done in recent years—the unearthing of ancient Buddhist remains in Jaffna, dating from before the Christian era, by our Vice-President, Dr. Paul Pieris. He has found there a large number of ancient coins not only of the Roman Empire but of very much earlier periods and has promised to give us an address on them. It will be looked forward to with the greatest interest by all of us to whom his paper on Nágadípa and the Buddhist remains in Jaffna opened up new and incredible vistas. Fresh and interesting fields of historical inquiry during the Middle Ages have been opened by Dr. S. C. Paul, whose appointment to the Council we welcome to-day. He gave us a foretaste of his researches in a recent paper on the Overlordship of Ceylon in the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries. The paper has been the subject of much discussion and criticism and will, I trust, lead to a thorough ventilation of the question and the elucidation of the truth. In finding time, amid the calls of an exacting profession, for historical research he has put many of us to shame and set an example which, if generally followed, will make the work of this Society more fruitful.

It is a great satisfaction to us to know that steps are being taken by Government to fill the vacancy in the office of Archæological Commissioner, which has remained unfilled since the

lamented and untimely death in 1914 of Mr. Ayrton, an officer of rare promise. During the period that has since elapsed the antiquities of the Island, unearthed and preserved during over 50 years at great expense, have suffered serious and in some cases irretrievable damage for want of proper supervision, and the Society has often pressed upon Government the necessity of an early appointment. The distinguished Archæologist and Oriental Scholar, Professor Foucher, who is now collaborating with Sir John Marshall in the excavations at Taxila on the North Western frontier of India and elsewhere and who has seen our ruins as they are now and as they were ten years ago, has within the last few days written to me from India deploring the great deterioration that our monuments have suffered.

As a typical instance, he mentions the frescoes in the Vihares of Polonnaruwa, which he found still fresh and vivid then and which he now finds almost completely defaced by rain and sun. It is a case, he says, where a thousand rupees spent in good time would have saved a hundred thousand. The annual clearing of the grass with the native hoe on the brick walls of Sigiriya does much to disintegrate them and they are practically crumbling down. Much the same problem has to be confronted in French Cambodia and Dutch Java. There too the forest is at the same time a deadly foe and a most picturesque frame for the ancient monuments and they must be saved from the mortal embrace of the roots without detriment to the wonderful beauty of their tropical surroundings. From Professor Foucher's long experience he considers that we want in the first place a good European architect with an artistic as well as technical training and with his heart in his work. This *rara avis* he thinks not impossible to find in spite of the gaps made by the war among the youth of Europe. Some assistants born in the Island would be necessary to help him in his multifarious tasks and attend to the reading of inscriptions, etc. One or two of these assistants might be first sent as Government Scholars to some European Universities (Paris for one, he says, would be glad to receive them) and then to the Archæological Survey of India for a more special training, for which he is sure Sir John Marshall will give every facility. Professor Foucher suggests that the primary task of the new Archæological Commissioner would be, for some years to come, a self-denying one and would mainly consist in taking stock of the inheritance from his predecessors and putting in a thorough state of conservation the monuments excavated by them, before attempting any new research of his own. The suggestions of Prof. Foucher I submit for the favourable consideration of Government.

I would especially ask that provision be made for training Ceylonese students in the manner he recommends. This would safeguard our archæological work from the serious dangers which we have had to face, and would in time train, as has been successfully done in India, a band of efficient Ceylonese to carry on the work. Such a provision would be on the lines of the recommendations made by the recent Commission on Public Service, of which you, Sir, were Chairman, and is quite practicable. There are already scholars of European training, like Mr. D. B. Jayatillaka, who with a few months' training under Sir John Marshall would be quite competent to take charge of the Archæological Department of Ceylon; or if that is deemed too radical a change of policy, one or two of the Government scholars who are sent to Europe might

be instructed to qualify themselves there for the duties of Assistant Archæologist and, after a further training in India, given the appointment here with prospect of rising to the higher post. Our ancient monuments are acknowledged to be of unique value and their conservation and exploration is a work in which a much larger public than that of Ceylon is interested. A policy of *laisser faire* is as detrimental as the blundering of untrained persons. We have every hope that measures will be taken by Government that will be adequate and effective and will usher in a new era for the Archæology of Ceylon.

5. Mr. Collins then read the following paper on "The Authorities for the History of the British Period in Ceylon, 1795-1805," by Mr. L. J. B. Turner.

NOTES ON SOME OF THE AUTHORITIES FOR THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH IN CEYLON, 1795-1805

By L. J. B. Turner, M.A., C.C.S.

Although the period selected for our chief consideration dates from the beginning of the final British occupation, there were British subjects, and, consequently, British records, in Ceylon long before that date. As some of these records are of great interest, though they are outside the period mentioned, I propose to touch briefly upon them before coming to the main period.

Knox

The first of these records is Robert Knox's "Historical Relation," of which the original edition was published in 1681. Knox's captivity of "near twenty years" from the end of 1659 in the Kandyan districts allowed him ample opportunity for the collection of material, and the unanimous verdict of the numerous writers on Ceylon who followed him is that the work attains a high standard of accuracy. Modern study of it in the country itself bears out this verdict, and there can be no hesitation in regarding the "Historical Relation" as reliable and authentic.

Pybus

The next British record is that of the Embassy of Pybus to Kandy in 1762. This consists of a Report dated October, 1762, and a daily Journal from May 5th to July 3rd, 1762, printed together in the small volume published by the Government Printer, Ceylon, in 1862. This volume bears the superscription: "Printed from the records of the Madras Government," but I have been unable to find out at whose instance the work was done.

In any case, the documents come from the proper custody, and are, without doubt, what they purport to be—the first-hand report and the diary of the actual experiences of the Ambassador—an obviously authentic authority. It may be noted that, it was not till the publication of the Report and Journal that the correct date of the Embassy of Pybus was known. Previously, it was put at all dates from 1763 to 1766.

Boyd

The remaining British authorities in the period before 1795 are those bearing on the British occupation and subsequent loss of Trincomalee in 1782, the chief being the Journal of Boyd's Embassy to Kandy—with an Appendix of Letters—which appears in the second volume of Boyd's Miscellaneous Works, collected by L. D. Campbell and published in London in 1800. The Journal describes the route and experiences of the Embassy from 5th February, 1782, to 26th March, and is clearly authentic.

Boyd's personal history is too interesting to omit, even in this resumé. He was a more or less well-known man of letters in London about 1780, being one of the candidates for the authorship of the *Letters of Junius*, but, being in financial difficulties, he came to Madras as one of Lord Macartney's secretaries. In this capacity he was given the Embassy to Kandy, which accompanied the expedition against Trincomalee, and returned from Kandy on 26th March, 1782. He sailed for India on the 8th of April. The British occupied Trincomalee from 5th January till 31st August, 1782. Tennent is wrong in saying that Boyd, on his return, found the French in possession,* but the French fleet was in the vicinity when Boyd sailed, and he was captured by the *La Fin* frigate on 10th April. The *La*

* II., 67.

Fin was, in its turn, captured by the British *Isis* in the general engagement of 12th April, but Boyd was too ill after his journey to Kandy to go on board the *Isis*. In the night a fresh breeze sprung up, and *La Fin* got away, with Boyd on board, and a prisoner. He was naturally greatly annoyed, and remonstrated with the captain about his behaviour in terms so pointed and strong that he was ordered into close confinement, and, although he was released next day, he was sent to Mauritius and then to Reunion, as a prisoner of war.*

Several of Boyd's papers appear to have been appropriated by his French captors, and it is probable that they were sent by them to the Dutch Government in Colombo, and that they are those found among the Dutch records by Mr. H. C. P. Bell in 1889. The originals were much damaged by damp, but the Dutch translations which had been made of them were then extant, and are referred to and quoted in the *Ceylon Literary Register* (Weekly), Volume IV., 125 ff. The Journal, however, appears to have escaped the fate of these letters, and Boyd's biographer says that Boyd sent it to Mrs. Boyd, while he was still in captivity, and Campbell apparently got it from her.

Boyd's correspondence is interesting in that it corroborates the detailed account of the naval operations off Ceylon in 1782 given in Mill's "History of British India," Volume IV., 237 ff. Mill gives no authorities for his details, but his work is presumably authentic. Incidentally, we may note that the "View of Hindustan" by the veteran naturalist, Pennant, published in 1798, has brief references to the naval battle off Trincomalee in September, 1782, which have been transcribed by Mill and several others without acknowledgment. They are, presumably, authentic.

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* *Ceylon Literary Register* (Weekly), IV., 143.

The remainder of the period under review falls naturally into two divisions—the Madras Administration and the Administration of Governor the Hon. Frederic North.

The Madras Administration

The records of the Madras Administration may be divided into two classes, published and unpublished official records, and the historical portions of published standard works on Ceylon. We may deal with the latter first. They are many in number, and vary in value, but we shall confine ourselves here to what may be called the "primary" authorities.

The Capitulation of Colombo

The first of these are the authorities for the facts of the Capitulation of the Dutch settlements to the British arms, of which the principal are the works of Percival: "An Account of the Island of Ceylon," London, 1803, 2nd Edition, 1805; and of C. F. Tombe: "Voyage pendant les années, 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805 et 1806." We shall see later that Percival's work, though in parts possibly authentic, is generally of doubtful value, if not actually unreliable, and M. Tombe's, interesting and useful as it is in many ways, is probably much the same. Tombe—not de la Thombe, as it is often written—was "Ancien Capitain—Adjoint du Genie employe pres de la Haute Regence a Batavia, actuellement Chef de Bataillon, Officer supérieur de l'Etat—Major General de l' Armee d' Italie," and it was at Batavia that he collected his material from Dutch officers who were in Colombo in 1795, probably about ten years after the event. Though his account may be possibly correct in some of the details, the charge of treason which he lays against the Dutch Governor appears to be exaggerated, if not entirely unfounded.*

* *Ceylon Antiquary*, III., 237 ff.

The other principal authorities on the capitulation are Welsh's *Military Reminiscences*, J. J. Cotton's *His Majesty's Regiment de Meuron*, H. W. M.'s Article on the Regiment de Meuron in the 1915 Christmas Number of the "Times of Ceylon," R. G. Anthonisz' *Johan Gerard van Angelbeek*, all authentic authorities. The other standard authorities generally give more or less full accounts of the occupation, but these contain little more than is borrowed from Percival or Tombe, or both.

Other Unofficial Authorities

From the date of the Capitulation of Colombo—15th February, 1796—unofficial records of the Madras Administration are brief and scanty. Lord Valentia, whose work will be noticed later, has an excellent general account of the nature and results of the Madras Administration, derived, no doubt, from Governor North himself, but it is quite short, and incidental, and few details are given. Cordiner* also makes only incidental mention of the oppressions of the Madras officials, and even Tennent, who had the advantage of the perusal of the Wellesley MSS., dismisses the subject in a single, though able, paragraph.†

Official Documents

Thus, for anything approaching an adequate view of the Madras Administration, we must turn to the official documents. The first of these are the papers and proceedings of the Committee of Investigation, which form part of the Wellesley MSS. in the British, and of which extracts were made by Mr. A. E. Buultjens, and published in the *Ceylon Literary Register* (Weekly), II., 124 ff. Other important documents—the Journals of the Embassies to Kandy, in 1795 and 1796, of Robert Andrews, the representative of the Madras

* II., 159.
† II., 72.

Government in Ceylon—have been, and are being, printed in the Proceedings of this Society, under the editorship of Mr. J. P. Lewis and Mr. Collins. The Journal of the 1795 Embassy is preceded by a valuable preface by the former.

But the principal authority for the period is the, for the most part unpublished, *Jaffna Diary*. Mr. Lewis, when Government Agent of the Northern Province, discovered its importance, and refers frequently to it, and quotes largely from it, in his work on the "Tombstones and Monuments in Ceylon." As the oldest official record since the British occupation, the first entry being that of 3rd December, 1795, this Diary is of the greatest interest and value. The despatches of Governor North and letters from Cleghorn, the Secretary to Government, also throw considerable light upon the history of the years 1795-1798, and the MSS. of the late Mr. Sueter have several valuable references and quotations bearing upon the same period.

Cordiner

We now pass to the second division of our whole period, that of the Hon. Frederic North's Administration, 1798-1805. Of the unofficial authorities, the most important, though not the earliest, is the work of the Revd. James Cordiner—"A Description of Ceylon," London, 1807. This reverend gentleman had been sent out to Madras by Archdeacon Bell to attend to the schools there, but, on his arrival, found that his expected post had already been filled, and was, presumably, only too willing to accept Mr. North's offer of employment in Ceylon as Chaplain to the Garrison of Colombo, and Superintendent of Schools.*

As the Governor was greatly interested in education, it was natural that Mr. Cordiner should frequently

* Despatch of February 26, 1799, para. 93.

be in attendance upon His Excellency, and it would appear that it was not long before he was admitted to an intimate friendship with the Governor, accompanying him on his tours round the Island, and frequently visiting at Government House. When, therefore, Mr. Cordiner conceived the idea of writing a book on Ceylon, he would have no difficulty in having access to the best available authorities, and we should, accordingly, suppose, *a priori*, that, if his authorities were properly utilised, we should have before us a work of high authenticity.

There is, however, nothing on the face of it to show the correctness of this supposition. Cordiner only on the rarest occasions quotes any authority, or gives the slightest indication of the sources of his information, and the volumes, in themselves, leave us quite in the dark as to their value as historical records. But it does not require more than a cursory acquaintance with the Government records of the day to enable one to see that Cordiner has adhered to them closely and faithfully. His figures of revenue and expenditure* can be seen to be based on official returns; his account of land tenure, and of native ranks† is borne out by official documents; his quotation regarding the Dutch judicature‡ is Cleghorn's Minute, though Cordiner does not, of course, say so; his itinerary of the Governor's tour round Ceylon in 1800 is verified, in detail, by Mr. North's own correspondence.§ But the most complete vindication of Cordiner's authenticity is his long account of the Kandyan Campaign of 1803, for which it is evident that he has referred to, and, in many places, copied verbatim, the official papers on the subject. Phrases from Mr.

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* I., 16.
† I., 19.
‡ I., 67.
‖ *Ceylon Literary Register* (Weekly), VI., 43.
§ Wellesley MSS.

Boyd's report of 24th July, 1802—given in the appendix to Percival (2nd Edition)—appear in Cordiner's account of the spoliation of the Puttalam merchants in 1802.* A near quotation from the Governor's Proclamation of 29th January, 1803, is given in the same connection.† The mileage of the itinerary of the Colombo Army on its march to Kandy agrees very closely with the distance by a modern map. Cordiner quotes from the articles of the convention with Muttusamy, given in full by Marshall.‡ His accounts of the defensive and offensive measures of the later part of 1803 agree entirely with, and are often taken verbatim from, the *Government Gazette*: and, in many other instances, his facts and figures are verified by one or more of the official authorities.

Percival

In considerable contrast to Cordiner's work is that of Percival, covering much the same period and subjects. Percival was a Captain in the famous 19th Regiment of Foot, arriving in Ceylon in 1797,‖—1796§ appears to be wrong—and remaining till 1800, visiting, in that time, "almost every part of the seacoast".¶ But his work contains many errors. He says that Point Pedro is called Hamsheel Point, but the modern Hamaniel is near Kayts; he puts Kalutara on the South-East coast; the first edition has it that the Mahaweliganga falls into the sea near Colombo, and though the error, in one place, is corrected in the second edition,** it remains uncorrected elsewhere.†† It is also

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* II., 164.
† II., 165-6.
‡ 240. *Cordiner*, II., 186-7.
‖ First Edition, 1.
§ Ib. 106.
¶ Ib. 3.
** Ib. 37.
†† Ib. 379.

incorrect to say that Barbut was commander and collector of Jaffna "ever since" it was taken by the British, as he was not appointed Collector till February, 1798;* nor is it at all likely that Colonel Petrie was one of the military Governors of 1796-7† when his tombstone says that he was only Commandant of Colombo.‡ But it is in his account of the Embassy to Kandy in 1800 that Percival really gives himself away. Both Percival and Cordiner give very detailed accounts of this Embassy; Percival states that he accompanied the Embassy; Cordiner's authority is a diary kept by Captain MacPherson, Secretary to the Embassy. The first and most important difference is found in the itinerary. Except as to the date of departure from Colombo—Cordiner (II., 287) says 12th March, but gives 10th at page 323, Percival gives 10th, and Wellesley MSS. say 12th;‖ if Cordiner's 10th is a misprint, 12th would be correct—the two accounts agree as to the route from Colombo *via* Hanwella, Avissávélla, Ẹpalapitiya, as far as Ruvanvẹlla. But after that stage, differences of distances, dates and stages become apparent, and it is easily seen that Percival had made at least one radical error. His halting place on April 5th is "Wolgoagoudi" (Valgavvágoda), on the 6th "Ganna Tenna," and on the 8th Ganaroa, the distance from Valgavvágoda to Gannoruva being given as 17 miles. Now Valgavvágoda is not more than 8 miles from Gannoruva, and is at the top of the Kadugannáva Pass, not at the bottom, as Percival appears to mean, while Ganétẹnna is at the bottom, not at the top. The two itineraries of the return journey are also instructive. They are:

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* Jaffna Diary.
† *Percival*, First Edition, 110.
‡ Lewis, *Tombstones and Monuments*.
‖ *Ceylon Literary Register* (Weekly), II., 280.

CORDINER*		PERCIVAL
April	25 Valgoovagoody	The General commenced his route for Ruanelli, presumably from Kandy, on 2nd May, arrived on 6th, left for Colombo on the 7th, while the troops marched to Gurrawaddi on 11th, Cuddavilli 13th, Colombo 14th.
	27 Ittapitty	
May	3 Iddamalpany	
	5 Roovangwello	
	7 Columbo, by water	

The chief point to note is that it is only on the Colombo side of Ruvanvella that the itineraries agree; possibly Percival himself did not proceed beyond Ruvanvella. Although five companies of the 19th accompanied the Embassy as far as Ruvanvella, they were not taken beyond that point.† There is no reason to suppose that Percival held a staff appointment, and his place would be with his own men, and not among the General's suite. Hence, it is very probable that he stayed back at Ruvanvella, and it would appear, from his giving the return stages of the troops, that he returned with them, and not with the General.

Several other details point to the fact that Percival did not proceed beyond Ruvanvella. If he had done so, he would hardly have said that the Kelani flowed from Kandy,‡ apparently thinking that it was a branch of the Mahaweliganga. It would also appear that Percival's details of the interpretation at the audiences are wrong. He says that the Adigar repeated the King's words to the Maha Mudaliyar, who reproduced them in Portuguese to M. Jonville, who repeated them in French to the General; whereas Cordiner gives the following order, the King, the Second Adigar, the Disawa of Uva,

* II., 323.

† *Percival*, First Edition, 376; *Cordiner*, II., 292; *Ceylon Literary Register* (Weekly), 286.

‡ 389.

the interpreter, and thence, through Portuguese into English, which agrees with the practice of the previous Embassies. There is also a contradiction about the lighting of the Audience Hall, and, if Cordiner is right, Percival is wrong.

The position is, therefore, that Percival either went to Kandy, and grossly malobserved and misreported all kinds of details, or else he did not go beyond Ruvanvella and compiled his account from second-hand and inferior sources. Percival himself conveys the impression, whether he intends to do so or not, that he did go to Kandy,* but that is very doubtful, even if it is not clear that he did not go beyond Ruvanvella.

In any case, the number of errors in the account of the Embassy and elsewhere would seem to justify the classification of Percival's work as doubtful, if not unreliable. He may not, of course, be always wrong, and his work contains many things of interest and importance, the chief of these being the collection of documents appended to the second edition,† but his unsupported statements must always be received with caution.

Lord Valentia

The next unofficial authority, which calls for notice, is the work of George, Viscount Valentia: "Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia and Egypt, in the years 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806," three volumes, London, 1809, in diary form. Lord Valentia arrived at Galle on 18th December, 1803, and left from Talaimanaar on 25th January, 1804. For nearly four out of the five weeks of his stay, he was the guest of Governor North at St. Sebastian's, confined to his room through illness. But he appears to have employed his time to great advantage in collecting "many inter-

* 399 *et seq.*

† This is, however, preceded by what appears to be an erroneous account of the Kandyan politics of the time.

esting particulars concerning the island"* being "much entertained by my (Mr. North's) researches," and has preserved so full and detailed an account of Governor North's and Mr. Boyd's interviews with the First Adigar, Pilama Talawuwé, at Sitawaka, early in 1800, that it has become the principal authority for the diplomatic history of that time. The minuteness of the detail points to a surmise that Lord Valentia had before him some kind of journal or diary of the proceedings, possibly one kept by Boyd. His facts are, with few exceptions, corroborated by Mr. North's correspondence, published among the Wellesley MSS. The other particulars given in his work† are generally corroborated by official documents, and it seems fairly clear that his principal informant was the Governor himself. His work is undoubtedly authentic.

Johnston

In the following year, another clearly authentic work was published, that of Major Johnston—the "Narrative of the Operations of a Detachment in an Expedition to Candy in the Island of Ceylon, in the year 1804." London, 1810. In 1800, Johnston was Lieutenant in the 19th Foot, in command of a corps of pioneers, which opened a road for the General's Embassy to Kandy. He was Agent of Revenue and Commerce at Chilaw towards the end of 1801 and in 1802. In 1803, he commanded the Free Malays, and was, apparently, appointed Senior Commissioner of Seven Korales. He contracted fever in Kandy in April, and was sent on a sea voyage, thus escaping the Kandy massacre of June. By November, 1803, he was commandant of Batticaloa, whence in September and October, 1804, he conducted the famous expedition of 305 soldiers and 550 coolies and pioneers,

* I., 276.
† *Ceylon Literary Register* (Weekly), II., 301.
‡ I., 264-337.
¶ Despatch of April 20, 1803.

which marched on Kandy *via* Alutnuvara, and occupied the Hill Capital, discovering there the accoutrements, and even the bones, of the victims of the massacre. From Kandy, a start was made for Trincomalee, and that post eventually was reached after terrible hardships and suffering. The book is written in a direct and lucid style, and is the authority for the facts of the campaign in question. It also contains general observations regarding the service conditions of the day, which are both interesting and important.

Anderson

While on the subject of the Kandyan war, we may note the importance of the Appendix to the copy of the "Poems" of Lieutenant T. A. Anderson, which is preserved in the Colombo Museum. This copy was presented by Mr. J. P. Lewis, and is said by him to be the only known copy which contains the appendix. The appendix contains copies of letters written to Lieutenant Anderson from the officers of the troops left in Kandy as a garrison, and forms a first hand, obviously authentic, authority on the state of the garrison, and the proximate causes of the massacre.

Most of the other older unofficial authorities are to be classed as "secondary," many of them taking their particulars, often without acknowledgment, from works previously published. It is not possible to refer to all of them in this short sketch, but the following brief notes may be given. The "History of Ceylon," by "Philalethes, A.M. Oxon.," London, 1817, contains little that is new, but is interesting on account of the author's anonymity. Mr. Lewis, in his "Tombstones and Monuments"* ascribes it to Revd. Robert Fellowes, LL.D., while Barrow† and Tennent‡ give it to the Revd. G. Bisset.

* 448.
† 8.
‡ I., xxiv.

Bertolacci

Bertolacci's "View of the Agricultural, Commercial and Financial Interests of Ceylon," 1817, deserves special mention as the first, and, apparently, the only work on the political economy of the British possessions in Ceylon. Although it deals directly with a somewhat later period than that now under discussion it contains much valuable information on it as well.

Bertolacci came out with Governor North in 1798 as Assistant Private Secretary for French correspondence,* and held many posts under Mr. North's government:—Commissary of Musters, Postmaster General, Sitting Magistrate of the Pettah, Colombo, Garrison Storekeeper, Muster Master, and becoming later Comptroller General of Customs. His work has thus, naturally, an official basis, and, although he rarely gives his authorities, he is, probably, in most cases, referring to official documents and returns. He quotes frequently from the Papers of the Committee of Investigation, though he does not say so, and his work, though not devoid of inaccuracies, can be classed as authentic. He develops, inductively, the principle that an unfavourable balance of trade, that is, an excess of imports over exports, produces a fall of the local exchange.

The importance of the works of a number of writers later in date, varies considerably from the point of view of the history of the years 1795 to 1805. Dr. Davy's "Interior of Ceylon" (1821) deals authoritatively with a somewhat later period, but has an important bearing on some of the Kandyan history of the period under review. De Bussche's "Letters on Ceylon" (1826) also refer more to a later period, but contain valuable returns of troops serving in 1803, and interesting reflections on the campaigns of 1803-1805. As he was Deputy Adju-

* *Ceylon Literary Register* (Weekly), II., 223.

tant General in 1815, he had access to official returns, and his information may be taken to be authentic. Major Forbes, writing in 1840, refers, in his "Eleven Years in Ceylon," to the history of this period, but has little new to add, while Dr. Marshall's "Ceylon" (1846), while it is an original authority for the events of 1815, does little but repeat information compiled from Cordiner, Lord Valentia and others. This practice is elaborated by Pridham, whose work—published in 1849—is chiefly composed of unacknowledged extracts from the previous writers on Ceylon. He occasionally interposes remarks of his own of some value, for example, on the subject of Mr. North's negotiations with the Adigar, but the work, as far as the period 1795-1805 is concerned, is almost wholly mere compilation, showing little original research, and, in many places, is not of great value. It is thus not a primary authority, and its reliability varies.

Tennent

Some special mention requires to be made of the work of Sir J. Emerson Tennent—first published in 1859—as it has acquired so great a reputation as a standard authority. Like many of the books on Ceylon, it is devoted to many subjects other than its history, and, in two large volumes, we only find some 19 pages with a direct bearing on the history with which we are here concerned. This portion is preceded by an able resumé of the history of the British in Ceylon before 1795, but, with one exception, the chapter on the British period may be said to follow the "traditional" lines. This exception consists of the first printed reference to the Wellesley MSS., which would appear to have been discovered by Tennent, and of the examination of the "light altogether new" thrown by them on the details of the Madras Administration, and on the negotiations between Governor North and the Adigar of Kandy. The "traditional" lines, it may be noted, are those followed

by writers before 1862, who, not having before them the Pybus documents, draw the particulars of that Embassy from Boyd's biographer or from Lord Valentia, and give it a wrong date; who follow the works of Boyd, Pennant, and Mill as authorities for the history of 1782; who quote Percival and Tombe, both doubtful authorities, on the Capitulations of 1795-6; who utilise Lord Valentia's short account of the Madras Administration, and who dedicate the rest of their space to the history of the relations between Colombo and Kandy, based chiefly on Cordiner and Lord Valentia. But Tennent makes an important departure by his development of the Wellesley MSS., and, although the space allotted to this period is so small, there can be no doubt of the ability of the work represented by it. But the following points may be noted. The statement that Boyd arrived at Trincomalee after its recapture by the French* is incorrect. The history of the Capitulation is incomplete owing to documents, discovered later, not being at his disposal. It seems to be incorrect to state† that Colonel de Meuron was sent from India to inquire into the causes of the outbreak of 1797, as it would appear to have broken out after his arrival. The statement that the future Government of Ceylon was determined by the outbreak‡ seems also to be inaccurate as there was hardly time for any information of the rebellion to reach home before Mr. North was appointed. Lastly, a disproportionate space is allotted to the Kandyan history of the time, and insufficient attention is paid to that of the Maritime Provinces. The estimate of Mr. North's régime§ is, consequently, based on inadequate grounds, and does not contain the whole truth. But his work is generally authentic, and he is one of the few older writers who almost invariably quotes his authorities.

* II., 67.
† II., 73.
‡ Ibid.
§ II., 86.

The work of an "Officer, late of the Ceylon Rifles" (1876) is valuable for its account of the British in Ceylon before 1795, but is not of particular importance for the period under review.

Lewis

Of the modern authorities the chief is Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.M.G., in whose *List of Inscriptions on Tombstones and Monuments*, though it is not cast in an historical form, one finds a mine of incidental information regarding the authorities for the history of the period, the chief persons, and many of the happenings of these and later days. The society and other aspects of the period under review are the subject of the same writer's "Early British Times," a work based on the *Government Gazette* and other contemporary authorities.

Sueter

The late Mr. E. B. F. Sueter's notes for a History of the Ceylon Civil Service show that he devoted a large part of his time to the study of this period, but are not in a sufficiently advanced stage to admit of their publication. They consist of ten volumes, one being a MS. copy of Council Proceedings for a few years after its first meeting, and nine typewritten. The latter consist chiefly of copies of documents bearing on Civil Service appointments, the pension fund, etc., the collection of documents for each period being preceded by a brief introduction, and being, apparently, intended as the basis for a history of the Ceylon Civil Service. It seems to be clear that Mr. Sueter had referred to the originals of the Wellesley MSS. in the British Museum, and the extracts are, consequently, of great value. In many other respects, Mr. Sueter's MSS. contain important matter for the student of this period.

Father S. G. Perera and Miss Methley

Of students who have done valuable work in some part of the period under review, the names of Father

Perera, S. J.* and Miss Violet Methley call for mention. The former has collected valuable information on the subject of Trincomalee, and on other matters, while Miss Methley has been working on the history of Major Davie.

Kandy

The history of the relations between the British and Kandyan Governments during this period has been so fully and satisfactorily described by Cordiner and Lord Valentia that, in general, little has been left for later writers to add. Even the official records, though they are of great value as checks on the unofficial work, and, occasionally, supplement the unofficial accounts, do not disclose any new information of any great importance on the subject of the Kandyan War and kindred matters. But the case is far otherwise when we regard the internal history of the Maritime Provinces under Mr. North's administration. With a few exceptions, this internal history is dismissed as calling "for no particular comment,"† or is ignored altogether, and, except in the case of Bertolacci's work, it receives no such full or systematic treatment as is accorded to the history of the Kandyan War. But the early history of the development of the administration of the Maritime Provinces is at least as important, and for it we are able to turn to the official records, published and unpublished.

The Despatches

Of these, the most important are the Governor's Despatches, addressed, in the first instance, to the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company, and, after 1st January, 1802, to the Principal Secretary of State who had charge of colonial affairs. Some thirty-one of these Despatches are extant, bound in two large volumes, written in a flowing hand, which is,

* *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. V., Part IV., page 180.
† *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. V., Part IV., page 166.
‡ *Pridham*, 179.

however, in places, rendered almost illegible by the fading of the ink. Many of the annexures appear to be missing, but the material available in the Despatches themselves furnish an amply sufficient basis for quite a detailed history of the time. The general arrangement falls under the headings of Legislature, Executive Government, Courts of Justice, Different Orders of Inhabitants, Revenue, Commerce, Religious Establishments, Military, Estates of Absentees and Minors, and, under most of these heads, sufficient new material is provided to form a fair sized monograph.

Even more important than his own Despatches for the history and results of Mr. North's Administration are those of his successor, Major-General Thomas Maitland. The latter, while all Mr. North's are contained in two volumes, fill four volumes between July, 1805, and October, 1806, the most important, that of 28th February, 1806, covering 107 pages and having 57 annexures. As these four volumes are devoted, almost entirely, to implicit, and, in some cases, explicit, criticisms of Mr. North's administration, the perusal of Maitland's Despatches adds largely to the available material, and, in fact, provides us with a view of that administration, which will appear novel, if not startling, to those for whom the eulogia of Cordiner, Lord Valentia, Bertolacci and the others, are the last word. Incidentally, it may be noted that the chapters in Frewn Lord's Biography of Sir Thomas Maitland, dealing with the North administration, of the authenticity of which there is no clear proof in the book itself, are only quotations from, and paraphrases of, the Despatches.

About ten of the Despatches from the Secretary of State, in reply to Ceylon Despatches, are preserved in one volume, but, although they are frequently of importance in a matter of detail, they, in general, convey a smaller proportion of information than that provided by the Despatches under reply.

The Wellesley MSS.

Next in importance to the Despatches come the *Wellesley MSS.*, chiefly consisting of demi-official correspondence between Lord Wellesley, Governor-General of India, and Governor North, but also including some other papers, those of the Committee of Investigation, and possibly others. Reference to these MSS. is rendered possible to students in Ceylon through the publication of valuable extracts from them in the *Ceylon Literary Register*, Weekly, Volume II., 124 ff. These extracts were made by Mr. A. E. Buultjens, and form an authority of very great importance for the history of the period. In many cases, however, the precising of the originals has left the sense somewhat obscure, and, possibly, material of interest has not been reproduced, so that it is a matter of importance for the history of this period that full and exact copies of these documents relating to Ceylon should be obtained. But the MSS. are very voluminous, and the task of selection at this distance is one of some difficulty. Arrangements should, however, be made, where possible, to obtain a copy of at least a part of these MSS. As Mr. North was a voluminous correspondent, his letters to Lord Wellesley give much new information, and throw much light on what was hitherto obscure, besides forming an excellent check on the other authorities, official and unofficial.

The Gazette

Of the other published official authorities, one of great importance is the *Ceylon Government Gazette*, first published on Monday, 15th March, 1802, and extant among the Archives in an excellent state of preservation from that date onwards. As Mr. Lewis has pointed out in his "Early British Times," the scope of the *Gazette* was considerably wider than it is now, and though the line was drawn at poetry—"we sincerely

regret that as poetical compositions do not come within the scope of this paper." etc.*—births, deaths, marriages, auction sales, arrival, departure and loss of ships were reported, while one could write quite a considerable history of European politics from the extensive notices given regarding them.†

Among the other official records of the time are the Council Proceedings, a copy of which forms part of the MSS. of the late Mr. Sueter, and there must be many more records of various descriptions among the Archives, and in the Government offices, which, it is to be hoped, will, one day, be brought to light.

* *Gazette* of June 9, 1802.
† *Gazette* of February 8, 1804.

COUNCIL MEETING

Colombo Museum, August 11, 1919

Present:

Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., M.A.
President, in the Chair.

Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt.D., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz.	Mr. C. W. Horsfall.
,, A. Mendis Gunasekara, Mudaliyar.	Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
Dr. C. A. Hewavitarana.	,, S. C. Paul, M.D.
	Mr. E. W. Perera.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., Honorary Secretary.

Business:

1. The minutes of the Council Meeting held on 21st March, 1919, were read and confirmed.

2. A letter dated 31st July, 1919, from Dr. Joseph Pearson, regarding the urgent need for an extension to the present Museum buildings was read. It was resolved to support the proposal and to write to Government urging the necessity for an extension and requesting that the building of the west wing be given consideration as early as possible.

3. The following were elected members of the Society:—

(a) Leslie Mack: recommended by { Gerard A. Joseph. / C. H. Collins.

(b) M. S. P. Samarasingha: recommended by { Simon de Silva. / A. Mendis Gunasekara.

(c) Leslie Jocelyn Gratiaen: recommended by { Leigh Smith. / A. M. Gunasekara.

(d) Frederick William Bakewell: recommended by { C. H. Collins. / Gerard A. Joseph.

(e) Kosgoda Sumanawansa Sthavira: recommended by { Simon de Silva. / M. Paññálankára.

(f) Felix Joseph Lucas Fernando (jnr.): recommended by { S. R. de Fonseka. / Gerard A. Joseph.

(g) James Edward Gunasekara: recommended by { C. A. Hewavitarana. / P. de S. Kularatne.

(h) C. M. M. Abdul Hassan: recommended by { M. A. C. Mohamed. / A. M. Hamid.

(i) Abdul Majeed Mohamed Cassim: recommended by { M. A. C. Mohamed. / A. M. Hamid.

(j) Wappo Marikkar Mohamed Hassim: recommended by { M. A. C. Mohamed. / A. M. Hamid.

(k) Cader Mohideen Mohamed Sahid: recommended by { M. A. C. Mohamed. / A. M. Hamid.

(l) Cader Mohideen Mohamed Abdul Cader: recommended by { M. A. C. Mohamed. / A. M. Hamid.

(m) Razeen Abdul Cader: recommended by — M. A. C. Mohamed. A. M. Hamid.

(n) Cader Mohideen Mohamed Hassan: recommended by — M. A. C. Mohamed. A. M. Hamid.

(o) Wytilingam Sathasivam: recommended by — T. B. Russell. K. Balasingham.

(p) Richard de Waas Gunawardana: recommended by — W. A. de Silva. F. D. Jayasinha.

4. A paper entitled "Sinhalese Proverbs," by Mr. J. G. C. Mendis was tabled. It was resolved that the paper be referred to a sub-Committee consisting of Dr. A. Nell, A. Mendis Gunasekara, Mudaliyar, and Dr. C. A. Hewavitarana.

5. A letter dated 11th April, 1919, from the Colonial Secretary, stating that the grant of Rs. 500 to the Society will be resumed from 1919-1920 was tabled.

6. The report of the sub-Committee on Mr. F. Lewis' paper entitled "Monastical Trees in Ceylon" was laid on the table, and it was resolved that Mr. Lewis be asked to give an address to the Society on the subject, the question of publication to be deferred for the present.

7. A letter dated 7th June, 1919, from C. A. Co., *re* papers standing in type, was read and it was decided to print these papers in the next issues of the Journal.

8. Mr. Bell's suggestion regarding the placing for sale of "Maldivian Linguistic Studies" with some of the leading booksellers in England was discussed and it was resolved to ask such booksellers to sell copies of this publication at 10s. 6d. It was further resolved to ask them to sell copies of D'oyly's Diary.

9. It was resolved that Dr. Pieris' paper on "Nágadípa and Buddhist Remains in Jaffna" be read at the next meeting and that arrangements for the meeting be left in the hands of the Secretaries, and that advance copies of the paper be printed.

10. A letter dated 22nd March, 1919, from the Secretaries of the Working Committee, First Oriental Conference, Poona, on the 30th October to 1st November next, was read and it was resolved that the President and Dr. P. E. Pieris be nominated as representatives of the Society, it being understood that the Society would not be put to any expense by reason of their going to Poona.

GENERAL MEETING

Colombo Museum, September 29, 1919

Present:

His Excellency Sir W. H. Manning, K.C.M.G., K.B.E., C.B. Patron, in the Chair.

Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., M.A., President.

Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt.D., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Sir Solomon Dias Bandaranaika, Kt.
Mr. Walter Dias Bandaranaika, Gate Mudaliyar.
Sir J. Thomson Broom, Kt.
Mr. B. Chas. Cooray, Muhandiram.
The Venerable Mr. F. H. de Winton.
Mr. P. Felix Fernando.
,, H. R. Gunaratne.
,, J. E. Gunasekara.
,, B. Horsburgh, M.A., C.C.S.
,, C. W. Horsfall.
,, Sam J. C. Kadiragamar.
,, M. K. Kanagasabai.
,, S. B. Kuruppu.
,, F. Lewis, F.L.S.
,, Leslie Mack.
The Hon'ble Mr. J. H. Meedeniya.
Mr. A. Mendis.
,, A. E. Murrell.
,, V. M. Mutukumara Maniagar.
Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
Mr. J. P. Obeyesekara, M.A., Mudaliyar.
Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.
Mr. T. A. A. Raheem.
,, Joseph E. Rode.
,, T. B. Russell, M.A., C.C.S.
,, W. A. Samarasinghe, Mudaliyar.
Revd. R. Sasanalankara.
K. Siri Nivasa Bhikkhu.
The Hon'ble Mr. O. C. Tillekaratne.
Mr. F. A. Tisseverasinghe.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., Hony. Secretary.

Visitors: 7 ladies and 12 gentlemen.

1. The minutes of the last General Meeting, held on the 31st March, 1919, were read and confirmed.

2. Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt.D., M.A., C.C.S., Vice-President, read his paper entitled "Nágadípa and Buddhist Remains in Jaffna" prefacing it with the following introductory remarks.

He said:—Your Excellency, two years ago I read a brief paper of some little archæological interest regarding some of my discoveries in Jaffna. At the time I did not contemplate the possibility that these discoveries would extend further and that it would be necessary to write a second paper, because it seems a pity to break the continuity of the narrative by an interval of two years. In that paper I set out certain theories concerning what I considered the authentic fact of the second visit of the Buddha to

Ceylon. I tried to trace and locate the place at which it is said the Buddha arrived—the capital of Nágadípa. From certain geographical and economical facts I arrived at the conclusion that Nágadípa is somewhere in the Jaffna Peninsula, near the port which was known in those days as Jambukola. I suggested that Jambukola, the great port, must have been somewhere in the neighbourhood of Kangesanturai, and that the site of the capital of Nágadípa must be within a short distance of Kangesanturai. I pointed out that the district at one time, and very naturally, became an important Buddhist centre, and then I traced the history of the Buddhists, whom I considered to be Sinhalese, from century to century, so far as our records would help us. I pointed out how king after king had erected temples from the 5th to the 11th century, and then we came down to the 14th and 15th centuries of the Christian era. In the interval the Sinhalese fell back everywhere, being driven away by the powerful Dravidian forces from South India, who came wave after wave, century after century, spreading distress, ruin and devastation wherever they went till the very name of the Sinhalese disappeared from the North, and nothing seems to have been left but one vast ruin. About the middle of the 14th century, we find a Tamil dynasty established in Jaffna Patam, not at the trivial Jaffna Fort of to-day, but at the ancient capital of Nallur, the City Fair, about three miles from Jaffna. Then I told the story of how the Sinhalese, waxing warlike—in those days they waxed warlike many times—sent an expedition and conquered the Tamil king. It is a period of peculiar interest because we are so fortunate as to have contemporary records of what and what took place in those days—records of remarkable beauty contained in some of the finest poetry that the Sinhalese ever produced. I ventured to translate a couple of these verses. Not long afterwards Sapumal Kumaraya, the conquering Prince, came back to Kótte—to that other desolation, six miles from Colombo, to visit his father or step-father or grandfather. I am afraid to say which because it is a matter of controversy, and we have before us a description of his entry into the royal capital described by an eyewitness, and addressed curiously enough to a bird. Then the Portuguese invaded the country and history ceased to be of interest. To-day all over the North there are traces of the times that the Sinhalese were there. Sinhalese place names still continue to be used; the very industries of the Sinhalese in that country, their religion, their political arrangements, and a variety of similar matters are crystallised in those names, and give us a very interesting side light on the state of things existing may be 2,000 years ago when the Sinhalese were the inhabitants of that country. I went on in my narrative to say how one day, while travelling by train from Jaffna to Chunnákam—another Sinhalese name—I had noticed a peculiar-looking mound—a mound as Your Excellency knows is a most remarkable thing in that remarkable Peninsula where the mean elevation of the country is only six feet above the level of the sea. This mound rose about ten feet. On examining it I found it to be artificial and composed of brick. I soon discovered three miles from Chunnákam Station the remains of an ancient Sinhalese Buddhist village. In my first paper I detailed the result of my enquiries up to that date and discussed the various finds which Your Excellency saw when you were in Jaffna. My narrative to-day will deal with my researches since that paper was read.

NÁGADÍPA AND BUDDHIST REMAINS IN JAFFNA

By P. E. Pieris, Litt. D. (Cantab.), C.C.S.

PART II

CHAPTER I.

*Where is the place Wadunna Gala situated? Wadunna Gala is situated at Wannia, which is to the South of Naga Diepe.**

Excavation at Kantaródai stopped with the exhaustion of the sum of Rs. 150 generously placed at my disposal by Government, but certain additional finds have to be recorded.

In a field to the east of the excavations a fragment of a well-moulded slab of *vira kal*, eight inches across, was picked up and was found to be ornamented with a design of *swastikas*. I suggest that the fragment represents four toes of the foot of the Buddha, with the auspicious signs. Compare the *Sri Páda* found at Kotai Keni, and illustrated in our Journal, Vol. XI., p. lxiii.

A stone *kota* was recently dug up close to the spot where the glazed tiles were found, and removed to another place of worship. A singularly fine *kota* of eleven rings, which had been found in this village, was traced to Sudumalai, and secured for the collection. A large circular limestone slab which was found on Dr. Subramaniam's land along with another *kota*, still awaits explanation. The adjoining land yielded a good specimen of the Buddhist railing on a moulded slab.

* Chief Priest, Mulgirigala, to Gov. I. W. Falck, Upham, Buddhist Tracts, III. 63.

It will be noted that the head of the Buddha shown in Plate IV.* has the nose fractured. Sir William Twynam has drawn my attention to the fact that all the Buddhas to be found in the Wanni have been similarly mutilated —an undoubted sign, he thinks, of Dravidian invasion.

The large block on the left of Plate IV.* was described by me as a fragment of a torso, with much hesitation, as neither the lines nor the drapery seemed quite to answer to that description: my son who was in Jaffna for his school vacation has since pointed out to me that it is in reality the top portion of the drapery hanging over the left arm of the Buddha. The massive fold of the drapery appears on the under surface, which had escaped attention. As the width, which is twenty inches, represents the thickness of the stone from which the figure was carved, the height of the image could hardly have been less than twelve or fifteen feet, and would suggest a standing image corresponding in size to the great sedent Buddha.

A morning's visit to Mallákam, another of the villages named in the *Nam Pota*, was not unrewarded. The site of the Buddhist Vihara is still known, and a shallow trench revealed an abundance of good bricks. A Sinhalese pond cut in the rock is in a fair state of preservation, though much neglected; it is still called *Kat Pokunai*, the Tamil form of the Sinhalese *Gal Pokuna*. It is a pity there is no Village Committee which can be entrusted with the upkeep of this interesting and useful remnant of the past. Two fragments of a *Yantra Gala*, with hollows $3\frac{1}{2}''$ by $4''$, and $2''$ deep, formed the only specimens of limestone so far discovered in the village.

Máhiyapiti has also yielded very satisfactory results. In the courtyard of the Mínachchi Amman temple adjoining the sheet of water shewn in Plate VI.,* a stone

* *Vide* Volume XXVI., No. 70, Part I.

kota was discovered. The Brahmin drew our attention to another block of stone which was lying near, and on examination this was found to be a much defaced head. The nose and lips have been worn down almost flat, but viewed in a suitable light the expression of the face is unmistakable. The elongation of the right ear may be seen in the illustration, Plate IX.,* and the head-dress is specially worthy of attention; a similar head-dress is not figured in Gopinath Rao's *Hindu Iconography*. At the back of the slab from which the head rises is a peculiar ornament, consisting of three concentric circles in relief, with a tassel (of pearls?) suspended from the centre. It is perhaps not rash to assign this head to the two feet shewn in Plate VI.

The last of the steps leading down to the water was semi-circular, and had frequently been examined by me, for portions of it were of limestone. As the level of the water sank I arrived at the conclusion that the step consisted of one stone rounded off with cement, and I was much puzzled by a straight line in relief which ran across its entire length. Finally I decided to break up the steps and see if there was anything on the under surface. The Brahmin gave his consent, and our labour was rewarded by the discovery of a remarkably fine body of Buddha (see Plate XI.). The block as it now stands is six feet in height: the feet had been formed of a separate piece and the sockets for the iron supports are visible. When complete the image must have stood 8½′ in height. The workmanship is superior to that of the Chunnákam Buddha, the lines of the drapery being much bolder, and the back finished off, instead of being left in the rough. Twenty-six men, with the two great car poles of the temple, were required to raise the stone to the bund of the pond for transport to the Fort.

Facing the two feet, on the opposite side of the flight

* See end of Volume for Plates VIII.—XVII.

of steps, was a projecting piece of limestone which was next dug up. This was found to be a portion of a fine stone pediment which, in its original state, could not have been less than 6′ square. The moulding rises to a height of ten inches above the flat, and the centre is hollowed out to receive a statue or some other similar object. The lip of the hollow seems to have consisted of a lotus petal design. A portion of a segment of a *kota* was found at a well in this village. This is about a foot in depth, and must have been thirty inches in diameter at the base. It is hollowed out on both the upper and lower surfaces, thus making it clear that the *kota* was made in sections. Another *kota* was fished up from a tank in the village, while a particularly fine one is being used as a Pullaiyar. The original site of these remains has not yet been traced, unless it be that it is occupied by the Hindu Temple.

The village of Uduvil is separated from Kantaródai by the old tank, and at the temple at Uduvil I discovered four stone *kot*, two of which I was very kindly allowed to remove, along with a stone ring, the use of which I cannot conjecture.*

Puloli is a village two miles from Parittiturai or Point Pedro. In this village is another Putter Kovil Adi, and when I visited the spot several cart loads of bricks had been removed for use in a building on the adjoining land. Only one pillar base was discovered, and that I think had been shifted from its original site, for I could not find any foundation where the stone now stands. But where the bricks are, an extraordinary quantity of tiles are to be found. They are different from any I had previously dug up, as they are unusually long and narrow. They are in such abundance that I was able to remove a clod of earth showing them eight deep and still unbroken.

* A very similar but ornamented slab, found at Ghantasálá, is figured in *Arch. Sur. of India*, Vol. XV., 1894, Plate XXI.

Rásanáyagam Mudaliyar has referred in his Note to the Tissa Maluwa at Chullipuram. I visited this and went on from there to the Bódi Maluwa at Jambul Turai. The site of the dágoba and vihára are easily to be traced near the sea, and as usual the dágoba is being used as a quarry, and I suppose will continue to be so used till the last stone and last brick are removed. I think there is a great deal to be said for the identification of Jambul thurai with Jambukola, as suggested by the Mudaliyar; there is a startling similarity in the names, and the place is just a tew miles to the west of Kangesanturai.

In this connection I would draw attention to the quotation at the head of this Chapter, which proves that about 1766 the priests of Mulgirigala were under the impression that the Wanni was to the south of Nága Dípa, or in other words that Nága Dípa was Jafana Pattanam.

I must not omit to record the fact that the expenses connected with securing the finds mentioned in this chapter were very generously provided by Mr. W. A. de Silva. With this money they have been properly arranged and fixed up in a spare room adjoining the Jaffna Library, where they are attracting much attention from the crowds who daily collect round the Law Courts. I hope the Council of the Colombo Museum will take over their custody, though at the same time they should not be removed from Jaffna.

Before finishing with the subject of the stone remains, it might be as well to place on record the fact of the discovery of certain lithic Tamil inscriptions. Of these the first was found at Nainatívu; the stone containing the inscription has been deliberately broken in two, and the lower half utilised in building the adjoining temple. The remaining portion is, roughly, four feet long and two and a half feet broad, and was originally inscribed on both sides. On the obverse only a few letters can be deciphered, in consequence of the rough usage to which the

stone has been exposed; but twenty-three lines appear in good condition on the reverse. According to Rásanáyagam Mudaliyar they refer to the trade of the port of Uráthurai (Kayts): the transport of elephants and of horses by sea; and the rights of the king over wrecks. The Ordinance was to be recorded on copper and stone.

Two fragments of apparently a much older inscription were found let into the floor of a house in the Pettah. These have been removed to the little Museum. The inscription was originally on a square pillar, which has been cleft in two by means of wedges. The result is that only half lines appear on two sides, and complete lines only on the third. The attempt to obtain a reading of this inscription from Madras has so far been unsuccessful.

Another very ancient Tamil inscription is contained on the stone lintel of a house within a few yards of the Library. The owner kindly agreed to allow me to remove this, but I could not make the necessary arrangements to do so. The fourth inscription is also on a column, which unfortunately is being used as a sort of altar at a temple at Udumpiray.

CHAPTER II.

COINS

Walking through Kantaródai one morning, I noticed some freshly opened coconut pits; I entered the enclosure and examined the loose earth and soon picked up some perforated red discs, such as have been found at Tissamaharáma and Anurádhapura. I also found a fragment of a cornelian ornament, six-tenths of an inch in length, pierced with three parallel holes bored, according to the ancient fashion, from either side, and meeting unevenly in the middle. A girl brought to me two little discs of

copper, thickly coated with verdigris, which I soon recognised as Roman coins; she explained that she had found them in the clay with which she was preparing the floor of her father's house. The name of the girl is Rája Lakshmi; let her be remembered as the discoverer of the first Roman coins recorded as found in the Peninsula.

Following up this clue I took certain action as the result of which I have secured a number of coins of no little interest; and though my knowledge of the subject is strictly limited, I have no alternative under existing circumstances but to take on myself the task of describing these finds.

1. *Puránas.* The following quotation from Sir A. Cunningham's *Coins of Ancient India* will be helpful to those who are not familiar with the subject, in understanding what these coins are.

"The earliest coinage of the ancient world would appear to have been chiefly of silver and electrum, the latter metal being confined to Asia Minor, and the former to Greece and India. By the silver coinage of India I refer to the thousands of square silver pieces which are found all over the country. As all these pieces are stamped with several dies or punches, on one or both faces, they have received the descriptive name of Punch-marked coins. In the Hindu books they are called *purana*, or "old," a title which vouches for their antiquity. They are mentioned by Manu and Panini, both anterior to Alexander, and also in the Buddhist Sutras, which are of about the same age." pp. 19-20.

"The mode of fabrication is evident at once from an inspection of the coins. A piece of silver was first beaten out into a flat plate of about the thickness of a shilling, or somewhat thicker in later times. Narrow strips of about half an inch or more in width were then cut off. Each strip was then cut into separate pieces of the same weight, of about 56 grains, and a final adjustment of the weight was made by cutting small bits off one or more corners of the heavier blanks. The marks of the chisel still remain on the edges of the thicker pieces, which were broken off when the cut did not go clean through the strip of metal. The earliest specimens are generally thin and broad, and of irregular shape. Some are oblong and some are nearly round, but all are light in weight, and are usually very much worn. How old these punch-marked coins may be it is difficult to say. They were certainly current in the time of the Buddha, that is, in the sixth century B.C. But I see no difficulty in thinking that they might mount as high as 1,000 B.C." p. 43.

The symbols employed are considered to have been impressed by the authority responsible for the correctness and purity of the coins. More than two hundred and

fifty of these symbols are depicted in an article on "Punch-marked coins of Hindustan" by Mr. W. Theobald. (*Jour. Bomb. Asiatic Soc.*, 1890.) These coins were of three sizes, the largest weighing 57.6 grains, with its half named the Kona, and its quarter, the Tangka or Padika. Though numerous in India, the coin has not often been met with in Ceylon.

I secured thirty-five of them from Kantaródai, and two from Vallipuram. The Kantaródai lot belong to all the three classes, the bulk being of silver, a few copper coated with silver, and two being the rare copper issue. They represent all stages of use, the die-marks being quite clear and fresh in some, and quite worn out in others. In some the chisel marks are very clear and sharp, and among the commonest of the designs are the rayed sun, the *chaitya*, and the so-called caduceus. These are the first *Puránas* recorded as found in the Peninsula, and their variety of shape is best seen by reference to Plate XII., Nos. 2-9 and 11-17.

The collector in Ceylon sometimes, and very rarely, comes across a large Japanese gold coin, which is said to have been brought into Ceylon in the later years of the Hollanders. It is interesting to note that on the reverse of this coin are to be found a series of punch-marks, some of which closely resemble those on the *Puránas*.

2. It is to me a matter of doubt whether an antiquity even greater than that of the *Puránas* should not be ascribed to another series of coins. These latter are of copper and bear traces of having once been heavily coated with silver. In shape they are square or oblong, with a distinct concavity on one surface (Plate XII., Nos. 18, 19, 21, 22 and 26). They show no traces of design, and it is probable that they never bore any; eighteen of these have been found at Kantaródai.

Ten similar copper coins are mentioned by Mr. Still (Jr., C. B. R. A. S., XIX., 201) as having been found in

the excavations at Anurádhapura. To this group I assign a circular copper coin, 1¼ inches in diameter, with a well-marked concavity and bearing clear traces of silvering. (Plate XII., No. 20.)

3. Tree and *swastika*.

In the natural order of sequence, the *puranas* would be followed by the coins on which the symbols contained in the punch marks appear as die stamps. First of this group I place an interesting series which does not appear to have been previously found in Ceylon. The obverse shows a tree within a railing, with subsidiary symbols on the available ground on either side. On the reverse is a *swastika* mounted on a staff and railed, with subsidiary symbols. As will be seen on reference to Plate XIV., Nos. 2-6, 9, 12, 13 and 18, these coins are of all shapes and sizes, and this variety is maintained in the trees and the form of the railing as well. Mr. Rapsom (*Indian Coins*, Plate I., 16) has reproduced a copper coin of Agathocles, a Graeco-Indian Prince who lived B.C. 190-160, the obverse of which shows a tree and railing identical with those on the Ceylon coins. The reverse shows a *caitya* or conventional dágoba, as also appears on some of them.

Mr. Dodwell, the Acting Superintendent of the Madras Museum, is of opinion that these are Buddhist coins of the second or third century B.C. He adds that similar coins have been found in villages on both sides of the rivers Vaigai and Tambraparni in South India.

4. Among Mr. Parker's finds at Tissamaharama (see Jr., C. B. R. A. S., Vol. VIII., pages 145 and 153) was a large double die circular coin with various symbols.

Mr. Still has dealt with this coin (Jr., C. B. R. A. S., XIX., 201) and he mentions the fact that about fifty of the series have been found since. I obtained from Kantaródai specimens (Plate XIII., Nos. 1, 2 and 3) none of them being perfect, together with several fragments.

A coin with a similar agglomeration of symbols is shown by Cunningham (Plate V., 7) as from Kosambi, an ancient city near Allahabad, and is attributed by Rapsom (p. 12) to the third century B.C. Mr. Still refers to a damaged specimen which he considers to be a quarter *pana* of this series. I have secured two such specimens in excellent order (Plate XIV., No. 1). They are of the same type as the larger coins, but the main symbols are the tree and the *swastika*. The larger of the two closely resembles No. 16, in Cunningham (Plate V.), which Rapsom attributes to the second and first centuries B.C.

5. The large copper coin (Plate XIII., 5) when found showed no sign of any design on it and was nearly being consigned to the pile of waste copper. Careful treatment revealed the fact that it was a coin or medal of much interest. In appearance and size it is curiously reminiscent of the unique Dekadrachm of Alexander which is at the British Museum, and which shows on the reverse a warrior on horseback attacking another on an elephant (see V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*, Plate II., No. 1). The reverse of the coin is shown in the Plate, and represents the hind legs of a charging horse, two dots, and a square divided into quarters, all within a double circle. On the obverse, within a single circle, can be seen a square within a semicircle, the base of a raised *swastika*, and very faintly, a *caitya*. The coin is much worn.

6. The square copper Indian coins were of sufficient antiquity for them to be imitated by the Greek Princes of the second century B.C.

"The unit of the old copper-money was the *pana* or *karsha pana*, which, according to Manu, was equal to one *karsha* or 80 *raktikas* of copper in weight." (Cunningham, p. 45.) The *karsha* is the Sinhalese *aralu*, and the *raktika* is the *olinda*, which is still in use among

goldsmiths as a weight. This copper series ran thus:—

$\frac{1}{16}$ Pana	9	grains
$\frac{1}{8}$,, or Ardha Kakini	18	,,
$\frac{1}{4}$,, or Kakini	36	,,
$\frac{1}{2}$,, or Ardha Pana	72	,,
$\frac{3}{4}$,,	108	,,
Pana	144	,,
$1\frac{1}{4}$ Pana	180	,,
2 Panas or Divi Pana	288	,,

A singularly beautiful and interesting series of these coins has been obtained by me from Kantaródai. (Plate XIII., Nos. 11, 12, 8 and 9). No. 11 weighs 182 grains. On the obverse in prominent relief is a finely designed elephant facing right, towards a flagstaff within a railing. Over the head of the elephant is a circular temple or house on pillars, very much reminding one of the cattle sheds found on the tobacco fields of Jaffna. To the right of this is a square device which I cannot explain. To the left is a *caitya* of three arches and below that is a part of a device which is imperfect, but which, judging from the other coins, should be a tree. The whole field is enclosed by a raised edge. On the reverse, there is a raised edge with a border of double lines, enclosing the symbol  .

A coin showing very similar characteristics, specially the elephant and the building, is figured in Cunningham (Plate IV., 2). That is a coin of Odumbara, a country between the Ravi and the Bias, and Cunningham assigns it to about 100 B.C. Tuffnell (*Hints to Coin Collectors*) illustrates (Plate I., 2) a coin with an elephant on the obverse and the same reverse as my coins, and states that such are found in Madura, the early capital of the Pandyans. These coins are ascribed to a period ending c. 300 A.D. (Rapsom, p. 35). Mr. Dodwell suggests that they are "coins of old Pandyan kings who

were ruling at Korkai in the early centuries of the Christian Era." The weight of No. 12 is 208 grains.

It will be noticed that there is a variation in the symbols on my large coins. These are accompanied by a smaller series with the same symbol on the reverse. Two weighing 29.7 and 20.1 grains respectively, show on the obverse the temple (Plate XIII., No. 7). One shows an elephant (Plate XIII., No. 10), another an elephant and railed tree, another a humped bull, railed tree and *caitya* (Plate XIV. No. 10), and another a railed tree and *caitya* (Plate XIV., No. 11). There is still another square coin which has been reduced by my unskilful cleaning from 180 to 158.8 grains, which shows among other marks a *caitya*. I think this should be placed in the same class.

7. Four small coins, representing two sizes, show on the obverse a well-executed and prominent elephant within a square, and on the reverse a mounted *swastika* (Plate XIV., No. 20). I attribute these coins also to the Pandyans.

8. "Ujain is one of the most ancient cities of India. Much of its importance was derived from its selection by the Hindu astronomers as their first meridian. In the beginning of the third century it was the residence of Asoka, as Governor of Malwa, under his father Bindusara, King of Pataliputra" (Cun., 94). The coins of Ujain were distinguished by a peculiar symbol on the reverse; this consisted of a cross with a circle at the end of each limb. One such circular coin has been discovered at Kantaródai; it was at first considered by me to be a fragment of rusted iron, but was fortunately cleaned and revealed within a copper coin. This shows on the obverse an elephant facing right, while above is an inscription in Asokan Brahmi which has been tentatively read by one of Sir John Marshall's Office Assistants, as *Savaha*.* On the reverse is the Ujain symbol (Plate XIV., No. 22).

* Mr. H. W. Codrington has read this as Sáta Kanisa, which he identifies with Srí Rúdra Sáta Karni.

9. Lakshimi and *swastika*.

In 1884 Mr. Parker announced his discovery at Tissamaharáma of certain copper coins bearing a human figure and a *swastika* (Jr. C. B. R. A. S., No. 27, 1884). Round these there has been much controversy, and the opinion has been expressed that they are not coins at all, and they have been designated plaques. I think my discoveries at Kantarodai have settled the dispute.

Mr. Still in 1907 (Jr. C. B. R. A. S., XIX., p. 208) referred to what he described as three barrel-shaped cast plaques found near the Túpáráma at Anurádhapura. This is the first reference to a type of coin of which a potful was discovered some time back at Chilaw. In the meanwhile Kantaródai was yielding specimens of this issue in extraordinary variety. The Chilaw find consisted, so far as I can learn, of one large type, made out of an inferior and brittle alloy of copper. The figure is of somewhat inferior make, bold but not graceful, and the lines of the design on both faces undoubtedly heavy. Those found in the North are singularly artistic and of good workmanship, while the metal, though largely mixed with lead, is in no way brittle.

The obverse of the coin represents a full-length female figure. On the ears are heavy round earrings, the *hakra kundala*. The breasts are full and prominent; in some cases round the hips, but below the navel, which is clearly marked, is a jewelled zone, the *kati bandha*, with the end hanging down on the left. The legs are well moulded and there are anklets on each. At first sight the figure appears to be nude; that would have been very un-Eastern in conception, and as a matter of fact closer examination reveals the lines which represent the conventional folds of the cloth just as they are shown in early Egyptian sculpture. The arms hang down and are adorned with bracelets, *kankana*. Each hand grasps the long stalk of a vine, which springs up near the feet.

This branches off at the base into a smaller stalk, terminating in a bud, while the main stalk finishes in an open flower at the level of the shoulder. On these upper flowers are seated two elephants holding their trunks archwise over the head of the figure. The representation is, of course, that of Lakshmi or Sri, the Goddess of Wealth, Chief Consort of Vishnu, who sprang from the Ocean when it was churned to obtain the ambrosia of the gods. She is usually represented with two elephants pouring water over her from two pots. This is a Brahmanical Vaishnava symbol.

The reverse is occupied by a bold *swastika*, railed and mounted on a staff, so as to occupy the full length of the field. There is variation in the form of the rail, as well as in the manner in which the *swastika* is struck. There are also certain subsidiary emblems on the reverse.

Plate XV. will convey some idea of the variety of these coins which have been found. Those from Kantaródai number about seventy-five perfect specimens, and vary in weight from 10 grains to 83 grains; a few of the larger type have been obtained from Vallipuram. Fragments have been found in large quantities. The edges in nearly all cases are well worn and rounded by use. Only a glance is required to satisfy anyone that these were coins and were never meant to be anything else.

These coins show signs of Greek influence and I think I have traced their probable origin. The earliest of the Saka dynasties of India was that of Maves, whose date is not later than 120 B.C. Some of his coins were directly imitated from the coins of the earlier Greek Princes, and Mr. Rapsom (*Indian Coins*, page 7; also Plate I., No. 15) has figured a copper coin of his on the reverse of which appears a female figure, standing between two flowering vines which spring up at her feet and rise as high as her head, and which she is holding. I suggest that the Ceylon coins are imitated from these.

Following the original Lakshmis, as I propose to call these coins, came two series of copies in, apparently, pure copper. It is a well-recognised rule that there is a strong tendency to deterioration in the artistic merits of successive issues of Eastern coins, and that is well exemplified in the present instance. The first series displays a fair degree of merit, and is oblong in shape, the figure not badly designed, and the metal of substantial thickness. Of this a dozen perfect specimens have been found at Kantaródai, and three at Vallipuram. The second series is stamped on thin copper, in some cases as thin as paper of medium thickness, irregularly chiselled out of a large sheet, with the figure very clumsily executed. A few perfect specimens of this series and a large quantity of fragments, have been found at Kantaródai. The coins discovered by Mr. Parker, and the bulk of those discussed by Mr. Still, belong to these two series. With them should be classed a solitary specimen (the last on Plate XV.) stamped on a square of copper diagonally, with unusual accessory symbols.

With a few very rare examples the arms of the *swastika* indicate movement in the same direction as the hands of a clock. Both kinds are shown in the Plate. The length of the longest coin in my collection is 1¼ inches, and the breadth of the broadest is 7/10 inch.

I have treated the first issue, as I consider it, of the Lakshmi coins as being of copper. In view of Mr. Rae's analysis given below* that description is misleading.

*** Report on the Analysis of Two Fragments of Coin sent by Dr. P. E. Pieris**

Both coins were much corroded and were easily broken in the fingers; the first one (A) appeared to consist of two halves pressed together, the second one (B) consisted of a single piece. Both coins were leaden coloured with raised marks on each side and when

The coins are of lead with a small proportion of copper. Leaden coins in abundance have been found in South India. They belong to the early centuries of the Christian Era. One such lead coin, very much worn, containing on one face the figure of a lion, has been found at Kantaródai. In Ceylon, at a later date, coins of this metal were issued by the Portuguese and by the Hollanders.

10. Of cast coins I have one small thick specimen (Plate XIV., No. 7) weighing 36.4 grains. It is square

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a broken section was examined appeared to be homogeneous throughout.

The specific gravity of coin A was found to be 8.56 by weighing in air and water at 29.5° C.

The ratio of lead to copper was determined for the outer parts of A and B and for the inner part of B with the object of seeing if the lead is used as a coating on the copper; the results of these three analyses were:—

Outer coat of A (1/13th of weight of coin used)	Outer coat of B (1/5th of weight of coin used.)	Inner part of B (4/5ths of weight of coin used)	
1·7 per cent.	2 0 per cent.	0 25 per cent	Silica
56·3 ,,	59·6 ,,	60 0 ,,	Lead
13·8 ,,	13 8 ,,	15 1 ,,	Copper
4 08	4 33	3 97	Ratio of lead to copper.

The analysis of the whole of coin B weighing 1 395 grams gave

Lead	..	59.93 per cent.
Copper	...	14.84 ,,
Silica	...	0.62 ,,
Iron	...	0.14 ,,
Nickel		a trace
		75.53

Tin was not detected. The ratio of lead to copper was 4.04. There is therefore very little difference between the outer coat and the inner part of the coins, which seem to be made of an alloy of copper and lead rather than of copper coated with lead.—W. N. RAE, 21st April, 1918.

and bevelled so that the upper surface is larger than the lower. On the former appears a *chaitya* and on the latter a tree. The coin clearly shows where it had been broken off from the rest of the cast. It somewhat resembles No. 29 on Plate I. Cunningham.

11. A peculiar thick small coin bears on the obverse a very rough figure of a man and on the reverse two thick raised parallel lines (Plate XIV., No. 21). A similar coin found at Taxila is figured in *A. S. I. Rep.* 1915-16, Plate XXV., No. 28, where it is doubtfully classed as Indo-Sasanian.

12. The coins of the Pallavas bear the emblem of a maned lion. Of these I have three of two sizes, all bearing on the reverse a circle enclosing three dots (Plate XIV., No. 23).* With them I place a much larger coin of poorer execution (Plate XIV., No. 27), bearing on one side a lion very similar to that on the Pallava silver coin figured by Rapsom, Plate V., No. 16; on the reverse of this is a large branched tree. There are subsidiary symbols on both sides. I have also a beautiful thick small coin (Plate XIV., No. 19) with a similar lion and a triangular emblem on the obverse, and a *swastika* on the reverse, which is probably a Pallava of the second and third centuries A.D. (see *Rapsom*, p. 37).

13. The Pallavas and the Kurumbars are mixed up. The latter flourished before the 7th century A.D. To them Tuffnel ascribes certain thin coins with a humped bull on one side and a *chakra* on the other; of this variety I have two worn-out square coins (Plate XIV., No. 14). To the same series belong the thicker issue, which is represented in the Colombo Museum and are there marked as Kurumbar. These seem to be more recent and are of good workmanship and I have secured two specimens of them of two sizes (Plate XIV., Nos. 15 and 16). On the

* Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S., is of opinion that these coins are Sinhalese in origin.

obverse is a standing humped bull, in one facing right and in the other facing left, within squares of lines and dots. The reverse contains, within three such squares, a circle enclosing three dots.

14. So late as 1907 Mr. Still was able to say (Jr. C. B. R. A. S., XIX., No. 58, p. 163) that no Roman coins had been recorded as found in Jaffna; my search at Kantaródai yielded more satisfactory results, for no less than 150 such coins have been acquired by me. They are in all stages of wear, a few of them showing but slight traces of use, while the bulk are completely worn out. Roman coins are common in Ceylon, and the majority of them belong to the third and fourth centuries A.D. Among those found by me Mr. Codrington has identified coins of Constantine the Great (306-337 A.D.), Theodosius I. (379-395), and Arcadius, (395-408), while he attributes forty coins to the period from Valentinian to Theodosius II. (see Plate XII., Nos. 27-38).

One solitary Roman coin was picked up by me at the site of the explorations: that was the one piece of metal found there. A few were obtained from Vallipuram, and among these must be included the coin shown in Plate XII., No. 1, which is a fine "Indo-Roman" probably copied from a coin of Constantine; on the reverse this coin is noteworthy for its peculiar richly toned patina.

15. In early times the three great Dravidian races of the South were the Pandyans, the Cheras and the Cholas. The Pandyans have already been mentioned. Their early device of the elephant was subsequently changed for the fish, and their coins bearing this latter emblem have been attributed to the period from the 7th to the 10th centuries A.D. To them should probably be ascribed the copper coin (Plate XIV., No. 17) which shows a recumbent bull on the obverse and two fish on the reverse, one specimen of which was found in Kantaródai.

After 1022 A.D., the coins of the Cholas contain the standing and seated representations of a King, which are found in the Polonnaruwa coins (*Rapsom*, p. 36). I have found three such coins, of three sizes, all flat on the side on which the standing figure appears, and convex on the other. On this latter side appears the legend *Sétu* (Plate XIV., No. 28).

A further series of the *Sétu* coins are those which contain a recumbent bull. I have obtained four varieties of these from Kantaródai and Vallipuram. In three the bull and the legend both appear on the obverse, while on the reverse is the standing figure of the King (Plate XIV., No. 30). In one beautiful small specimen the bull is on one side and on the other the legend, within a lotus formed as a flourish from the second letter (Plate XIV., No. 24).

16. As is well known, the later Sinhalese domination of Jaffna is evidenced by large finds of coins of the Polonnaruwa issue, as many as two hundred being found at a time. Kantaródai and Vallipuram have yielded:—

3 Lion coins of Parákrama Báhu (Plate XIV., No. 29).
3 massas of Parákrama Báhu.
1 of Sri Dammásoka Déva.
1 of Buwanaika Báhu.
2 of Srimat Sáhasa Malla.
1 of Sri Rája Líláwati.

The choicest of the series was picked up by my son as he walked along the sands of Vallipuram. It is a peculiarly beautiful specimen of the very rare one-eighth massa of Parákrama Báhu (Plate XIV., No. 8), and is of nearly the same weight as the more crudely executed Museum specimen.

These represent the coinage of the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries of the Christian era, but are too well known to require further description.

17. The period of Portuguese supremacy in Jaffna extended from about 1624 to 1658. Their domination is

represented by one small copper coin without any legend (Plate XII., No. 23). On the obverse this shows the crowned arms of Portugal within dotted and linear circles, and on the reverse an armillary sphere within similar circles. The coin is unworn and I am not aware of any other similar coin being previously discovered in Ceylon. It is probably a *dinheiro* or a *bazaruco*.

18. Dutch copper coins are well represented by finds from both Kantaródai and Vallipuram. The most numerous belong to the early thick issue of stivers with a wreath on obverse and reverse. These coins do not merit separate description. Of them Captain Tufnell has remarked as follows: "When one looks at these rude caricatures of coins and then compare them with the clear-cut issues of the Moghuls and Pathans struck centuries before, fine in design and exquisite in workmanship, with every letter well defined and clear, one can hardly believe that we were posing among them as a civilised and civilising power." p. 49.

Of the early Ceylon issue, I have secured seven specimens, representing the stiver, quarter, and eighth. Of the later thick issue I have found one specimen, from the Jaffna Mint. But I have over twenty-five of the Pulicat issue, chiefly of the lowest denomination (Plate XII., Nos. 24 and 25). This is significant of the isolation of the Peninsula from the rest of the Island, and of its trade with South India. Of the thin challies and half challies issued in Europe half a dozen were found.

19. Of the later South Indian issues I have a few specimens which I have not been able definitely to identify (see Plate XII., No. 10; Plate XIV., Nos. 25 and 26). Of these No. 25 is probably a Madura issue, and No. 26 appears to contain a representation of Buddha's Footprint, with an inscription on the obverse.

There are certain other coins with an elephant and apparently the letter *Sri*, which seem to be Canarese. I

have also a few large fragments of square coins of a curious thickness, approaching $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch. These are ancient, but I am unable to offer any suggestion regarding them.

20. A few English copper coins of the last century bring the numismatic tale of Yápá Patuna from anywhere before B.C. 500 up to the present day.

CHAPTER III

Utuntur aut aere aut nummo aureo aut taleis ferreis ad certum pondus examinatis pro nummo.—CÆSAR DE BEL. GAL., V., 12.

In my first paper I had occasion to remark on the absence of specimens of metal at the excavation. That remark will not apply to the rest of my search, for such remains have been found in abundance. First I should place the specimens of

COPPER.

These include the image of some deity six inches in height; its right hand is in the *abhaya hasta*, or pose of protection, and the left in the *varada hasta*, conferring a boon. See Plate X., No. 1. There is also a figure which looks like a mediæval European devil (Plate X., No. 2). These probably are not antique, though they are old; but several pounds weight of ancient fragments have been collected. What is especially remarkable is the quantity of the fragments of the Lakshmi coins. There were nails of various shapes from $2\frac{1}{2}''$ downwards in length. There were fragments of bracelets and rings, and Vallipuram yielded quite a series of tiny bells. There were ingots of copper of various sizes, and a series of round pellets which would almost suggest that they had been weighed out to be struck into coins. It is the fact that the oldest form of copper coin is supposed to have been a round

ingot, somewhat depressed by the impact of an obscure sign above. (Elliott, *Coins of Southern India*, p. 58.) There were fragments of various small utensils and ornaments, a few of which are shown in Plate XVI. and among them was the handle of the type of the well-known Sinhalese ornamental dagger.

Perhaps the most interesting were a series of copper rods, shown in Plate VIII. All these came from Kantaródai, except two which were found at Vallipuram. I do not think it is reasonable to suggest that this series is the result of an accident. Two copper rods of the same shape, $5\frac{3}{8}''$ and $4\frac{3}{4}''$ in length respectively, were found at Taxila, which according to Arrian was a great and flourishing city in the days of Alexander the Great, and are figured in the *A. S. I. Report*, 1912-13, Plate XXIV. The half of another is now in the Colombo Museum; it is not labelled but probably was found at Anuradhapura. Is it possible that they were used as coins, in the same manner as the rods described by Cæsar in the quotation at the head of this Chapter?*

IRON

fragments were numerous, and so were the traces of iron works. In this case it is not possible to distinguish between the ancient and the non-ancient.

LEAD

was rare. The finds included several circular pieces which were probably used for earrings (Plate XVI.,

* Since this paper was read my son has sent me valuable information from Cambridge. "I have found out," he writes, "what those metal bars you discovered at Jaffna, are. They are called *kohl* sticks and were used by the Egyptians 2000 B.C. for applying paint with. They have been found in vases together with the paint, and I came across them in the Egyptian Gallery at the Fitz William Museum. All the different kinds of beads—crystal, amethyst, clay, etc.—are Egyptian too, but they have not got your flat circular greenish and red clay ones." The illustrations sent by him prove the correctness of his identification, and when taken in conjunction with the Isis figure described under "Terra Cotta" he appears to have discovered a new direction for the research of the student of history.

6, 10), as well as an ornament two inches long curved like the top of a Bishop's staff, with a knob above (Plate XVI., 4). This last was found in a mound among a mass of ancient tiles. In view of the abundance of leaden coins, the small quantity of this metal which has been found gives rise to certain inferences regarding the origin of the coins.

I mentioned in my first paper that fragments of

GOLD

are still picked up in certain spots; I have been able to secure some of these, varying from the size of a pin's head, to a crescent half an inch across. They are all of beautiful red Indian gold, beaten very thin, and are portions of broken ornaments.

There were also a couple of rubies and a couple of beautifully polished garnets, one perforated to be used as a pendant, and of ancient style. There was also a lump of apparently the same enamel or glaze which had been applied to the blue tiles mentioned in my first paper, thus indicating that the manufacture of the glaze was carried on locally. Silver was represented by a few fragments of diminutive size. Of

TERRA COTTA

there was a well-finished utensil shaped like a funnel, four inches in length. There were also two excellent specimens of sealings (Plate XVI., 2, 3). One shows the humped bull, and the other a lion and two other symbols. Seals were used by Princes, ministers and officials, primarily for marking letters, while the impressions from them were used as passports. In sealing letters the moist clay was laid over the cord and sealed, and the sealing then exposed to heat. These two specimens bear on the back the impression of the cords (see *A. S. I.*, 1911-12, pp. 45-6).

Perhaps as interesting as anything is the terra cotta figure of a woman carrying a child (Plate XVI., 1) which

was picked up in a rice field. This figure is three inches in height and appears to have been coloured white at one time. The wearing out of the prominences has given the features of the mother a peculiarly simian appearance. A very similar pottery figure is illustrated by Professor Flinders Petrie (*Egypt and Israel*, Ed. 1912, fig. 52). That is a later Egyptian figure of Isis the Mother nursing Horus the Child. The worship of Isis, Queen of Heaven, Mother of God, and Patroness of sailors, grew immensely in popularity under Roman influence, and her altars are found scattered from Yorkshire to the southern limits of Algiers. It may be that the Kantarodai figure represents the Egyptian divinity, and was brought to Jaffna in the same manner as the Roman coins. Of

POTTERY

the quantity found was immense and included the circular fragments which Mr. Parker found at Tissamaharama, and which were probably employed as playthings by children. In bone there was one long dice, marked on three faces (Plate XVI., 5). There was an almost entire absence of chank ornaments. There were two specimens of marble or alabaster ornaments, one about nine inches in length, the uses of which I cannot suggest.

The most beautiful portion of my finds consisted of the wonderful collection of

BEADS.

It is difficult to give a verbal description of these. They vary in size from a large pin's head to more than an inch in length (Plate XVII.). A few of the largest are of pottery and clumsily made. One or two appear to be of jade, and some of coral. There is a damaged oblong specimen of bone, which is classed among the beads as it is perforated to be strung. Garnet beads are abundant and all of them well polished. Some are beautifully turned spherules, the largest being nearly 3/10 of an inch in diameter; some

are oblong, some facetted, some in the rough, and some merely perforated discs. In white topaz, amethyst, agate, cornelian, and water crystal, the variety in size and shape is remarkable. The largest of the topazes is 8/10 of an inch in diameter. The cornelians show many variations of the drum shape. One oblong specimen has four perforations, and another has six; these were probably used for what would now be called a dog-collar. There is an astonishing abundance of glass beads, the majority opaque and some transparent or semi-transparent. Nearly all the colours are beautiful, the greens, yellows and reds being especially so. There are large beads of the deepest indigo, so deep as to appear opaque till held against the light. These are covered with a silvery irridescent coating such as is found in ancient Egyptian glass. White beads are rare, and some of them have a golden coating. Several are variegated in a curious fashion. The red discs which first led me to look for beads are exceptionally abundant and are of different sizes and shades of red. Mr. Rae has been so good as to have these analysed for me in England and I give below Dr. Mellor's analysis.*

* I have received Dr. MELLOR'S Report on the beads; he finds

Silica ..	SiO_2 ..	57·90%
Aluminia ..	Al_2O_3 ..	7·18%
Ferric oxide ..	Fe_2O_3 ..	2·28%
Magnesia ..	Mg. O ..	1·85%
Lime ..	Ca. O ..	3 44%
Potash ..	K_2O ..	6·04%
Soda ..	Na_2O ..	3·94%
Sulphurtrioxide ..	SO_3 ..	0·48%
Copper oxide ..	Cu. O ..	17·33%

He remarks that there is some difficulty with the copper in that some is probably present as colloidal metal, some as cuprous oxide and some as cupric oxide.

W. A. RAE
Actg. Professor of Chemistry.

The beads formed out of the semi-precious crystals I have mentioned above were made in Jaffna itself, from imported material. Fragments have been found showing the whole process leading down from the natural crystal through the roughly fashioned block to the unperforated but polished bead. As to the glass, it is now proved that glass beads were made in Ceylon, but I hesitate to make the assertion that they were made in the Peninsula itself, though there is reason to believe that they were so made. I have found both unperforated and also unseparated glass beads.

It will be seen that the village of Kantarodai has no reason to be ashamed of its contribution towards the increase of our knowledge regarding the ancient history of our Island. It stands to reason that a country which is only thirty miles from India, and which would have been seen by the Indian fishermen every morning as they sailed out to catch their fish, would have been occupied as soon as the continent was peopled by men who understood how to sail. I suggest that the North of Ceylon was a flourishing settlement, centuries before Wijayo was born. I consider it proved that at any rate such was its condition before the commencement of the Christian Era. I hope we have heard the last of the Lyre of Jaffna.

What is the explanation of this abundance of ancient coins in a petty village? The Jaffna man would not of choice have walked about with a hole in his purse. I suggest that those sand-dunes which attracted the attention of Manimékalai in the second century of the Christian Era will afford a clue. As is well known, the soil consists of a thin layer of sand resting on a basis of coral or lime stone. The mean elevation of the Peninsula is only six feet above sea level, rising at one or two points to a maximum of about thirty feet. Across this, for several months in the year, the wind blows unceasingly day and

night, raising up the thin sand in irritating clouds. As a result of this erosion the more elevated patches where my finds were mainly collected, became more and more denuded of the outer covering, and all heavy particles deposited in varying ages were collected in one stratum. This is well illustrated in the case of the large stony tract called Kat Povulum (Sin. *Gal Pahura*), near Vallipuram. This is an extensive stretch of rock bare of sand, and is just a few inches above the normal level of the sea which adjoins; and in the crevices of this rock beads, pieces of pottery, etc., are to be found in quantities.

I hope I have sufficiently demonstrated the fact that neglected Jaffna is not unworthy of the attention of an archæologist. When again a trained man is placed in charge of the work in Ceylon, I hope he will not ignore the Tamil districts. I venture to express the conviction that the Archæology of Ceylon cannot be understood, and should not be studied, apart from the Archæology of India; and that it is a pity that the great knowledge and experience which is available in India, should not be taken advantage of in the work here.

It would be ungrateful on my part not to remember those who had assisted me in my work. They were a dozen little Tamil boys and girls of Kantaródai, captained by a particularly zealous and intelligent schoolboy, Selvaráyan. The Vallipuram finds were collected for me by M. Michaelpillai, Registrar of Puloly; while the Government assisted by occasionally placing a motor car at my disposal.

3. Sir P. Arunáchalam—being called on by His Excellency—said he would leave the very interesting coins that had been discovered by Dr. Pieris to be dealt with by numismatists. There was one point which needed clearing up and that was as to whether the remains unearthed by Dr. Pieris, and which belonged to a period of about 2,000 years ago, were the remains of Sinhalese or of Tamil civilisation. Nothing had been discovered by Dr. Pieris to throw light on that point. Dr. Pieris was inclined to think that it was Sinhalese civilisation, but he ventured to doubt this. For some centuries before and after the beginning of the Christian era, the Tamils were largely Buddhists.

The classical Tamil literature of that time was Buddhistic and the beautiful poem that Dr. Pieris had referred to, the Manimekhala, was one of the classics of that period. The total disappearance of Buddhism from among the Tamils, and in fact from the whole of India, where it had originated, was one of the most striking historical events that have occurred in the world.

4. His Excellency proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer. He said he had no intention of entering into discussion on the paper as he was not sufficiently learned on the subject. Dr. Pieris had read a paper which they thoroughly understood, and appreciated. He had proved that the Jaffna District was a gold mine for archæological research as well as for antiquities, which had been discovered from time to time. He was interested that Dr. Pieris's own son should have picked up from the ground what has proved a valuable contribution to the collection; Dr. Pieris had told them it was quite perfect. The ancient manufactory of glass was of great interest, and he did not know and was sure many there present were not aware that a glass manufactory had existed so early. Government had been very modest in helping Dr. Pieris in his research work, but the lecturer had done much with the little provision made for him. However, Dr. Pieris had only to mention what he wanted and His Excellency would see that he got his expenses. He knew Dr. Pieris would continue his researches in Archæology.

Mr. F. Lewis seconded the vote of thanks.

5. Dr. A. Nell supported. He said that Dr. Pieris and his son, Paul, were extremely fortunate in finding coins at Vallipuram in the sand dunes, where Dr. Paul and himself had tramped many a mile and failed to discover anything except the points of the compass, and the bearings of the sand dunes. He put it forward as a conjecture that the character of the coins in the collection were South Indian and Dravidian so exclusively, except for a very few, that one must suppose the Buddhists were Tamil Buddhists—people of South India. As regards the failure to find any Dutch coins of value, the Dutch probably took care not to lose anything of value and the coins they left behind were of a short period, whereas the Tamil coins are the collections of several centuries.

6. Sir P. Arunáchalam moved a vote of thanks to H. E. the Governor and this was carried with acclamation.

7. The articles referred to in the paper were then exhibited and inspected by those present. In addition some glazed bricks from Negombo were shown by Dr. A. Nell. The bricks possessed shining surfaces as if coated with a vitreous selenium indicating the presence of silicates in the sand, which apparently was suitable for glass making.

COUNCIL MEETING

Colombo Museum, November 13, 1919

Present:

Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., M.A.,
President, in the Chair.

Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt.D., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. Simon de Silva, J.P., Gate Mudaliyar.
,, A. Mendis Gunasekara, Mudaliyar.
,, C. W. Horsfall.
Mr. F. Lewis, F.L.S.
Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.
Mr. E. W. Perera.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S. } Honorary Secretaries.
,, Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S. }

Business:

1. Read and confirmed minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 11th August, 1919.

2. Considered and passed the election of the following new members:—

(a) Peter Mary Alysius Corea. recommended by } C. H. Collins. S. Vythenathan.

(b) John Jones Coon: recommended by } C. H. Collins. Gerard A. Joseph.

(c) George Edwin de Livera: recommended by } Gerard A. Joseph. C. H. Collins.

3. Considered the appointment of an Honorary Secretary in place of Mr. C. H. Collins, who was going from Ceylon on leave.

Resolved that Mr. Codrington be asked to accept the office of Honorary Secretary.

4. Laid on the table report of the sub-Committee on the paper entitled "Sinhalese Proverbs," by Mr. J. G. C. Mendis.

Decided to ask Mr. Mendis to give an address on the proverbs omitting all those already published in English in the Society's Journal and that copies of the report be sent to him for his guidance.

5. Laid on the table proof of next issue of the Journal.

6. Considered agenda for the next General Meeting.

Resolved that Mr. Codrington be asked to summarize the paper on Major Davie and to read it at a General Meeting.

7. Resolved that a Committee consisting of Dr. Nell and Mr. E. W. Perera be appointed to consider what steps should be taken with reference to the obtaining of Chinese Records pertaining to Ceylon not yet translated.

EXTRACTS RELATING TO CEYLON FROM THE DAG-REGISTER, BATAVIA, No. 1673.*

COMPILED BY F. H. DE VOS.

10th January, 1673.

It was resolved to allow the French officers, who had come from Ceylon and were in numbers on the ships, to come ashore and to put them in the separate shed erected for the purpose in the hospital.

26th January, 1673.

Towards evening there arrived here, straight from Ceylon, the hooker "de Pitoor," by which there came a letter from the Superintendent *Ryckloff van Goens* (senior) and Governor *Ryckloff van Goens* (junior) and Council, dated Colombo, 25th December, 1672, relating the loss of the ship "de Meyboom," cunningly captured by the English, which being seen by the Commissaris *Willem Volger* brought the ships "Pouleron" and "Nieuwenhaven" to Colombo.

28th March, 1673.

After considering the subject of Ceylon, on the proposition of the Superintendent *van Goens* it was resolved to separate the city of Nagapatnam from the Coromandel government and in future to place it under the jurisdiction of Ceylon.

13th October, 1673.

Lourens Cordero, a Sinhalese slave condemned to be hanged, for fleeing and causing others to flee, to Bantam.

7th January, 1674.

There arrived from the Cape the ship "Goudrink" with good news of the victory of our fleet against those of England and France on the 7th and 14th June, 1673, and the "Berg-Eend" was sent with this good news to Ceylon.

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* Continued from Vol. XXVI., No. 71, page 198.

15th January, 1674.

At noon there came here with the Commandeur *Cornelis van Quaelberg* from Ceylon the ships "Damiate," "Breederoode" and "Iselsteyn." There came by these ships, *inter alia*, a letter of recommendation of the English prisoner of war, Vice-Admiral *Jonathan Haddi*, by the Superintendent *van Goens* to His Excellency, dated Colombo, 26th November.

30th June, 1674.

Nicolaas of Colombo....., all three slaves of *Jacob Overduyn*, in that they created a great disturbance on the high road at night, and being warned by the neighbours to be quiet, thought fit to abuse them, calling them Dutch dogs, thieves, scoundrels, whores, etc., were lashed, branded and put in chains for one year.

19th November, 1674.

Elizabeth Abbema, wife of the Governor General, dies aged 36 years and 11 days, having been married to His Excellency 10 years and 3 months.

20th November, 1674.

Burial of *Elizabeth Abbema* in the Groote Kerk in the burial vault of her mother. There were present at the funeral, among others, the Governor General *Jan Maatzuyker*, *Sybrand Abbema* her brother, *Andries Bogaert* her brother-in-law.

10th December, 1674.

There arrived early in the morning from the West Coast of Sumatra the ship "de Vlieg".....with letters relating how the hooker "de Lyster" with *Pieter Vertang* from Ceylon arrived there on the 4th July and sailed hither on the 16th with letters from the Governor *Ryckloff van Goens* (junior) and Council, dated 6th May: also a letter of thanks for his promotion from the opperkoopman *Willem van der Molen* from the Ceylon fleet at Malabar, dated 30th January, 1674.

5th January, 1675.

About evening there arrived at this port the ship "Caltenburgh" from the Coromandel Coast by which also arrived *Lourens Pit* (junior) late dissave of Matara in the Island of Ceylon.....

24th January, 1675.

About midday the three ships of war: "Hellevoetsluys," "Tulpenburgh," and "Outshoorn" arrived here with the opperkoopman and Commandant of Negapatnam, bringing various letters, dated 4th December, from the Superintendent and Governor *van Goens* to His Excellency.....

There was also received from the Commandeur *Joan Bax* and Council at Galle a short letter, dated 6th December, mentioning, as does the letter of the Superintendent, the expedition of Governor *van Goens* (junior) to the highlands of Colombo and Galle against the Sinhalese enemy, where already an encounter favourable to us has taken place and that everything was well with the lands of Galle and Matara.

The letters from *van Goens* contained some papers relating to the case of the skipper *Geert Symons van Warden*: also a letter from the Ceylon fiscal *Edmond van Sterrevelt* from Colombo to the Chief Government.

1st June, 1675.

About evening there was received, through a Javanese fisherman, from the Superintendent *Ryckloff van Goens*, a letter of advice written on board the "Wapen van Middelburgh," which left Galle on the 16th April. *Heer van Goens* intended to arrive at the port next day at noon (2nd June).

The letters from Ceylon consisted of a letter from the Superintendent *van Goens*, from the ship the "Wapen van Middelburgh," dated 30th April, to which was annexed a memoir for Governor *van Goens* (junior) and Council at Galle, dated 12th April.

16th July, 1675.

Early in the morning there arrived, direct from Ceylon, the ship "de Loery," bringing a letter from the Governor *Ryckloff van Goens* (junior) and Council of Colombo, accompanied by various annexures of the 6th June, also a short annexure from the Commandeur *Joan Bax* and Council of Galle, dated 9th June, referring, *inter alia*, to the newly appeared Ceylon heir apparent of Matale, to which title there have been many pretenders, who were however caused to be put to death by the King of Kandy in the year 16..... But this man had given many proofs of his rights and had a following of many thousand men who were now at Colombo, maintained at the expense of the Company.....

23rd July, 1675.

The advices from the two last named ships ("Hendrik Maurits" and "America") were dated August 1674, and the letter of Governor *Isbrand Goske* (Cape) relates the appointment of *Joan Bax* (present Commandeur of the City and Lands of Galle) as Governor of the Cape.

29th August, 1675.

There left this port for Ceylon the ship "Sparendam," bound for Galle, to take the newly elected Governor *Joan Bax* to the Cape.

15th October, 1675.

Predikants *David Fernie* of Bergen-op-Zoom and *Lucas Bos* of Cuylenburg, appointed to Ceylon.

11th November, 1675.

The yacht "de Flaman" arrived in the afternoon from Persia by way of Ceylon bringing a letter from the Governor *Ryckloff van Goens* (junior) and Council of Colombo to His Excellency, dated 11th October, with various annexures, relating the arrival of a large force of the King's Sinhalese, from all parts of the island, especially in the lands of Matara, and that with 16 to 20 thousand men under the Dissave of Uva, they had cap-

tured the Company's fort called Bibligamme and taken 70 Nederlanders as prisoners to Kandy. But according to rumour and a letter from these unfortunate prisoners to the Governor, dated 29th August, they were well treated.

3rd December, 1675.

Resolved in Council to employ the Predikant *Marcus Masius* in Ceylon.

24th December, 1675.

About evening there arrived the yacht "de Zyp" from Persia by way of Ceylon bringing the original letter from the Governor *Ryckloff van Goens* (junior) and Council of Colombo to His Excellency, dated 5th November, also a letter from *Willem van der Molen* and Council of Galle, dated 8th November.

The sudden fury of the high land Sinhalese had abated and they had retreated up-country, and, according to the reports of some lascoreens, our poor imprisoned soldiers of Bibligamme with *Raja Singa* at his court, were well treated.

31st December, 1675.

Sadyk of Bantam, a Javanese, residing on the side of Ankee, in that he endeavoured to take 3 slaves to Tangeran, was whipped, branded and cast in chains for 50 years to work at the common works in Ceylon.

23rd March, 1676.

Early in the morning there arrived the yacht "de Schelvisch" direct from Ceylon having.....and bringing a letter to His Excellency here from the Governor *Ryckloff van Goens* (junior) and Council at Colombo, dated 13th February, with an appendix dated 14th February, and a letter from the Council at Galle, dated 17th February, also two copies of letters, written by the said Governor and Council on the 28th December, 1675, to the Directors.....relating, *inter alia*, how the first pretender-prince of Matale, sent back last August from here to Ceylon in the "Sparendam," was

heard against the newly appointed Matale pretender and found to be a deceiver and vagabond, being unable to supply any information to questions put, whereupon the newly appointed prince was declared to be the lawful prince: also how the famous Singalese dissave *Tumeron (Tennekoon)* one of the highest chiefs of *Raja Singa* (who, last year, helped our men to capture the fort Bibligamme)through fear that the tyrannical King would kill him, had, to save his life, come with a small following from the Four and Seven Corles to Colombo under the Company, with further information that his companion, the General and dissave of Uva, was not so lucky, but was, on the orders of *Raja Singa*, captured and kept in close confinement, which might cause a change in the affairs of *Raja Singa,* so that the condition of the people seems to be in a muddle.....Further the Commandeur *Jacob Lobs* informs His Excellency of his prolonged voyage from the Fatherland and arrival in Ceylon.

25th May, 1676.

About evening there returned to this port from Surat, by way of Ceylon, the ship of war "Pouleron." This ship touched at Colombo and delivered some Surat rupees, receipt of which is acknowledged by the Governor *Ryckloff van Goens* (junior).....and a letter accompanied by various Ceylon papers and documents from which it appears that by the re-conquest of the posts Sitavaque and Denuagie, outside Colombo and Negombo, many natives who had again come under our rule, had again gone further inland, which roused such fear in *Raja Singa*, that he, not trusting his forces, had summoned them farther up from Uva and had imprisoned many of his principal dissaves and chiefs. Further, the said *Raja Singa*, seeing that his plans, arranged with the French in 1672, had not succeeded, had last year sent with some men an ola to the Portuguese asking them to help him in driving the Dutch away from Ceylon, but these men were captured close to Trincomalee in a boat by the sloops of the Company and the letter lost,

which the refugee now under us, the dissave *Timmecon* (*Tennekoon*) has related with every appearance of truth. Also there arrived here in the ship "Pouleron," Captain *Abraham Daniel van Renesse* bringing a letter from the Commandeur *Hendrik van Rheede*.

29th May, 1676.

There arrived from the Fatherland the new ship "Silversteyn" bringing news that the Ceylon return ships "Beemster" and "Spanbroeck" had arrived there (Cape) on the 13th March and had, in company with the whole fleet of Heer *Nicolaas Verburgh*, sailed for the Fatherland on the 18th.

Albert Cornelissen Rotgans of Amsterdam, sailor on board the ship "Tulpenburg," as he allowed his ship to "out run" to Ceylon and signed a false certificate, was whipped, condemned to stand in the pillory for three hours with a letter on his breast, written on it *Falsaris*, cast in chains for three years to work at the common works without salary and to remain banished.

1st August, 1676.

After midday the yacht "de Flaman" returned direct from Ceylon bringing a letter, with various annexures, from the Governor *Ryckloff van Goens* (junior) and Council at Colombo, dated.....May, addressed to His Excellency, with an annexure from the Commandeur *Pieter de Graeuwe* and Council of Galle, dated.....May, also another short letter from the dissave *Willem van der Moolen* from Belligam, dated.....May, referring to various matters in that disturbed place, and, among other things, that (according to the report of some natives) *Raja Singa* had consulted his chiefs as to whether it was best for them to make peace with the Dutch or to wage war against them and that they had so far decided on the latter. There was also received from the predikant *Simon Kat* at Colombo a private letter, dated 17th May, asking for an increase of salary.

28th September, 1676.

There arrived from Persia by way of Ceylon the ship "Hasenbergh," bringing a letter from Governor *Ryckloff van Goens* (junior) and Council of Colombo, dated 10th July and a supplementary letter dated 11th July, a letter from the Commandeur *Pieter de Graeuwe* and Council of Galle dated July, all accompanied by various reports and annexures, among them a letter from the Commandeur *Jan Blommert* and Council of Baticalo, dated 5th July.

It appears from the Ceylon reports that the French of Coromandel had already built a fine fort at Pondicherry and had cut off, with a large pirate boat, all trade between the Moors and Ceylon. The Emperor *Raja Singa* seemed to have toned down a bit and after the despatch to him of a letter from the Governor with the present of a Cape lion, it is announced far and wide, that he had promised to release and send back all the imprisoned Hollanders and in future leave the Hollanders in peace, which the Company fervently hopes will be the case.

16th November, 1676.

In the evening there arrived from Coromandel the Governor *Anthonio Pavilion*, bringing with him the following letters.....a letter from the Commandeur *Laurens Pyl* and Council at Jaffna, dated 14th September, 1676, to His Excellency....., a letter from the Commandeur *Jan Blommert* and Council of Trincomalee to His Excellency, dated 15th June.

At Jaffna, in consequence of the new land tombo to relieve the poor people of the burdens and rapacity of the mayoraals, there was such an uproar, that most of the foremost of them went over from the provinces Timmoraetchie and Wamoraetche to *Caylo Wanny*, alleging that they would not return unless the work of the tombo was stopped, and that in the meantime they would, with the help of the Wannias and some up-country Sinhalese, invade the lands of Jaffna, which they had already from time to time begun to do, but the necessary measures will be taken to prevent this.

14th January, 1677.

The ship "'t Huys te Bergen" arrived from Ceylon with a long letter and connected papers from the Governor *Ryckloff van Goens* (junior) and Council at Colombo, dated 5th December, 1676, to His Excellency, also a short letter from the Commandeur *Jacob Lobs*, written on his departure to Cochin, dated 26th October.

Two of our poor prisoners of Bibligamme had fled to Galle through untrodden paths from their place of detention, Parnegamme, relating that all the other Dutchmen there were in great straits and wretchedly treated, without, up till now, appearing before the King, which King *Raja Singa*, according to the report of three refugee appohamies, still often committed many tyrannical acts, with the result that many courtiers, to save their lives, had to flee here and there, and some mostly came to Colombo to the pretended Prince of Matale.

The revolted Mayoraals of the Wannias and various chiefs in the provinces of Jaffna, by reason of their dissatisfaction with the new land tombo, were again restored to order, and, through the zeal of Commandeur *Pyl*, with a show of force and severe punishment of 6 murderers, everything is quiet now and most of the fugitive mayoraals, having obtained pardon, have gone back to their lands, except that these provinces, with the shutting up of some redouts, cannot be so easily attacked.

Caylo Waany, who has twice openly injured the Company as an enemy and traitor, deserves severe punishment and he will get it in good time.

Otherwise everything was quiet in the whole of Ceylon and the highways so clear that news could be received at Colombo in 12 to 14 days even from the most distant parts.

30th January, 1677.

Considered at an extraordinary meeting of the Council of India the question of the reduction of the garrison of 1,000 men there (Ceylon).

22nd April, 1677.

Towards evening there arrived from the island of Ceylon the ship "Zuydpolsbroek" and with it the retired Commandeur (of Jaffna) *Jorefas Vos*, bringing a long letter from the Governor *Ryckloff van Goens* (junior) and Council of Colombo to His Excellency, dated 5th March last, with its annexures: a letter from the said Governor sent on the 18th January by the ensign *Johannes de Buquoy*, with a lion to *Raja Singa*, seeking his friendship and speedy release of our poor imprisoned, which seemed hopeful at the time of his departure, but he was afterwards, from time to time, detained on the way without as yet appearing at Court.

After a visit to the pearl banks of Tutucorin and Manaar it was decided that there should be no fishery for quite a long time.

Of the imprisoned Lieutenant-Dissave *Blicklant* it was reported that he, with 7 or 8 of our Bibligamme prisoners, had escaped from the Kandyan court or their place of detention, Parnegamme, and that, on *Raja's* order, a search party was sent out to find them so that there was a doubt as to their arrival and safety, although orders were given to cruise about the coasts and our posts, which appears more fully in the letter book and letter to *Raja Singa* and further from the letter of the Commandeur *Pieter de Graeuwe* and Council of Galle, dated 11th March, to His Excellency.

12th May, 1677.

There arrived from the Fatherland, by way of the Cape, the ship "Sumatra," bringing from Ceylon the following news:—

The Governor *van Goens* had gone on a trip to Jaffna by way of Calpentyn and Manaar.

The Lieutenant-Dissave *Blicklant*, taken prisoner at Biblegamme and some Hollanders, meaning to escape from their place of detention, Parnegamme, were seized by the Dissaves sent out by *Raja Singa* and taken to

their previous station, but were now, so it is said, better treated by *Raja Singa* than before.

Shortly after this incident the Dissave of Saffragam, with about 500 lascoreens, came to the Mende and Attacalan corles, within the jurisdiction of Galle, and made the inhabitants of these provinces appear before him on a verbal pretext that such were the orders of the King, against which it was resolved by the Commandeur *de Graeuwe* to enter a friendly protest till their departure, in case of refusal to deal with them with force.

26th July, 1677.

In the evening, after prayers, there arrived here the skipper of the ship the "Huys te Merwe," coming from Surat by way of Ceylon, bringing a case of various letters, among them, a letter from the Governor *Ryckloff van Goens* (junior) and Council, dated Colombo, 8th June, to His Excellency, and a later letter dated 11th June, accompanied by letters of the Commandeur *Pieter de Graeuwe* and Council, dated Galle, 18th June, with other documents relating to that Government, containing, *inter alia*, the following news:—The up-country Dissave of Saffragam, *Dawatte Moltjaar* (referred to above under 12th May), who crossed the Waluwe river with a large force and came to the Mende Attacalan and Naudum corles on the verbal and written pretext that they were sent there by *Raja Singa*, without however proving the same to us, and lorded over the people under the rule of the Company, were pursued by our lascoreens and a good force of Dutch soldiers from the Galle lands, who attacked them vigorously and put them to flight with the loss of many men, they retiring so far that they could not be farther pursued over the hills.

Whilst these disturbances were going on, the pretender Prince of Matale, who, since the year 1675 had, at Colombo, voluntarily put himself under the protection of the Company and was treated with honour (with the prospect of gaining some advantage after *Raja's* death), on the night of the 5th May stealthily crept out of the

city gate without any means of getting him back. But *Raja Singa's* cunning emissaries had better luck, for they seized this fugitive close to the river of Chilaw and took him up to Kandy before *Raja Singa* where, it is reported, he was cut in four pieces and sent as a spectacle to all parts of the low country.

26th August, 1677.

Their honours deliberated for many days over Ceylon matters, not only about a treaty of peace with *Raja Singa* to the relief of the Company from its many burdens, but also about other matters, among others, the request of the adigaar of Matara, *Don Casper Sinnewirad Modeljaar.*

4th September, 1677.

Further their honours conferred about Ceylon matters, and it was finally resolved to delay the sending of a letter to *Raja Singa*, but to allow the treaty to be made between him and the Governor.

9th November, 1677.

There arrived from Ceylon the ship "Macassar," bringing a letter from the Commandeur *Laurens Pyl* and Council of Jaffna, dated 9th September, 1677.

The new land tombo was put into force and it was found that the Company would profit yearly from the head money to the extent of fully 75,000 guelders and the net profits this year at Jaffna amounted to 55,716 florins.

The watch posts and dependent lands in the Provinces were now on a good basis, but the warned but stubborn *Cayla Wannia* has not appeared as yet to the summons, but with the reduction of the military there, it seemed that there was little chance of bringing him to book.

30th November, 1677.

There returned here from Ceylon the ship "Poulerou," bringing a letter from the Governor *Ryckloff van Goens* (junior) and Council, dated Colombo, 4th

November, together with two letters written by him on His Excellency's orders, to the King *Raja Singa* and an answer by the Kandyan chiefs to Captain *Wanderpoel* at Colombo.....and the opperkoopman *Willem van der Moolen*, Commandeur *Salomon Lescage* and Commandant *Marten Huysman* have each, by separate letters to His Excellency, applied for the post of Commandeur of Galle rendered vacant by the death of the Commandeur *Pieter de Graeuwe* on the 14th August.

It also appeared from the aforesaid letter that the Governor *van Goens* and Council had no hopes of entering into a treaty of peace with *Raja Singa* by quitting, as proposed, various provinces, and they were somewhat surprised at the order newly sent here, as, according to various reports, *Raja Singa* appeared to be, as before, none other than a great tyrant, who daily caused many people to be killed and the principal families to be exterminated, necessitating the appointment of the lowest people to the highest posts, which is confirmed by the report of one of our escaped Bibligamme prisoners, who further reported that the Lieutenant *Blicklant* and most of the other prisoners were still alive, but very miserably treated.

Our ambassador *Buquoy*, sent in the beginning of this year from Colombo to Kandy with the young lion, was still held up at Moeliogodde without being able to obtain permission to make any progress with his embassy to His Majesty, which is reported will not take place before the up-country Sinhalese shall have heard the lion crow like a cock, because *Raja Singa* imagines that it has a crown on its head and is endowed with the power of crowing instead of roaring as a king of beasts should naturally be. Whether this is true or will be, time will show, but some people have strange misgivings. However the letter of the courtiers, this time bearing the King's seal, shows that *Raja Singa* was always, as still he is, very well disposed towards the Hollanders if they would deal with him fairly and recognize him as the Sovereign Emperor of that far-famed island.

NOTES AND QUERIES

A SINHALESE EMBASSY TO EGYPT

By H. W. CODRINGTON

In M. Quatremère's "Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks," translated from Maqrízí, under the reign of al-Manṣúr Sayfu'd-dín Qaláún, appears the following account of an embassy from Ceylon (Vol.II., Part I., pp. 59, 60):—

"Le quatorzième jour de ce mois [Muḥarram, A.H. 682=April, A.D. 1283], on reçut des ambassadeurs envoyés par le souverain du pays de Ceylan, qui fait partie des Indes. Ce prince se nommait Abou-Nekbah-Lebabah. Ils étaient porteurs d'une boîte d'or, qui avait trois doigts de largeur, et une longeur d'une demi-coudée. Dans l'intérieur, se trouvait quelque chose de couleur verte, qui ressemblait à des feuilles de palmier, et qui présentait des lignes écrites dans un charactère que personne, au Caire, ne put lire. On interrogea les députés, et, d'après leur réponse, cette lettre contenait des formules de salutation et d'amitié. Le prince déclarait qu'il avait renoncé a son alliance avec le souverain du Yemen, pour s'attacher uniquement à entretenir avec le sultan des liaisons d'attachement; et désirait recevoir un ambassadeur. Il annonçait qu'il avait en sa possession quantité d'objets dont il faisait l'énumeration, tels que des éléphants, des pierreries, des denrées de prix de tout genre; qu'il avait préparé un présent pour être offert au sultan; que le royaume de Ceylan renfermait vingt-sept forteresses; qu'il contenait des mines de pierreries, de rubis; et que les trésors du souverain regorgeaient de pierres précieuses."

A further account of this embassy is to be found in M.S. de S. Germ. 118 (2) translated in Quatremère's "Mémoires sur l'Égypte," Vol. II., p. 284. The ambassador to the court of Egypt from the prince of Ceylon, king of India, was al-Háj Abú'Uthmán, who was accompanied by several others. According to them they embarked in a Ceylon vessel and having touched at this Island came to the port of Hormuz, where they stayed ten days. They then went up the Persian Gulf, and passing Baṣrah and Wásiṭ came to Bagdad, then under the Persian Mongols. The ambassador on being admitted into the Sultan's presence presented a letter, which he said had been written by his master's hand. It was enclosed in a gold box and wrapped up in stuff resembling *túz* (the inner bark of a tree), which was made, it was said, from the bark of a palm. As no one could be found to read the letter, its contents were explained by the ambassador as follows:

"Ceylon is Egypt and Egypt is Ceylon. I desire that an Egyptian ambassador accompany mine on his return and that another be sent to reside in the town of Aden. I possess a prodigious quantity of pearls and precious stones of every kind. I have vessels, elephants, muslins, and other stuffs, wood of *baqam* (Brazil wood), cinnamon, and all the objects of commerce, which are brought to you by the banian merchants. My kingdom produces trees, the wood of which is fit for making spears. If the Sultan asks me for twenty vessels yearly, I shall be in a position to supply them. Further, the merchants of his dominions can with all freedom come to trade in my kingdom. I have received an ambassador of the prince of the Yemen, who is come on the part of his master to make me proposals of alliance. But I have sent him away through my affection for the Sultan. I possess twenty seven castles, of which the treasuries are filled with precious stones of all kinds. The pearl

fisheries are part of my dominions, and all that is taken therefrom belongs to me."

The Sultan covered the ambassador with honours and dismissed him with a letter for his master.

The king of the Yemen was Yúsuf ibn 'Umar, who reigned at Aden from A.D. 1249 to 1295. Who was "Abou-Nekbah-Lebabah," sovereign of Ceylon?

Unfortunately I have been unable to get at the Arabic text of Maqrízí. But if we remember that in Arabic writing the vowels are usually not expressed and that the *waw* is really a consonant, and if we take the letter A in Quatremère as representing *álif*, we find that "Abou-Nekbah" is a fair version of "Bhuvaneka Bá" or "Bhuvaneka Báhu": *Abú* is a common part of Arabic names and the initial *álif* would easily creep into the text in copying. Calculating from the year 1824 after the attainment to Buddhahood or A.D. 1235-6 as that of the accession of Parákrama Báhu II., and allowing him the full reign of 35 years, we must conclude that Vijaya Báhu IV. came to the throne about 1270/1, and Bhuvanéka Báhu I. about 1272/3, his reign ending in 1283 or 1284. But the "Lebabah" is puzzling. I would suggest tentatively that the two first letters *lám bé* be read *bé yé*. We have only to add a dot to turn *bé* into *yé*, and the restoration of the first letter is supported by a corruption in Rasídu'd-dín's text of the name "Sundar Bandi" (Sundara Pándya) into "Sundar Ladi." The word as thus amended, in the absence of vowel marks, would read "b-yábáh." Now there is no P in Arabic and on the analogy of "Abou-Nekbah" we could read the last three Arabic letters as the equivalent of *báhu* or *páhu*. Accordingly the restoration of the original text now suggested is "bi-Yábáhu," that is "at Yápahu." This place actually was the seat of the court of Bhuvanéka Báhu I., and the name of the capital may have been joined to that of the sovereign through a misunderstanding at Cairo.

The proposed alliance appears to have been somewhat one-sided. It may perhaps be surmised that the Sinhalese king wished to strengthen himself against the threatened aggression of the Páṇḍyans. Bhuvanéka Báhu's death perhaps occurred before the return of the embassy, and, if the account in *Mahávaṇsa* XC., 43-47, be in its correct chronological position, seems to have been the signal for the great incursion of the minister Árya Chakravarti, who carried off the Tooth Relic and presented it to his master Kulaṣékhara Páṇḍya.

Since writing this note I find that Mr. C. E. Corea has also identified "Abou-Nekbah-Lebabah" with Bhuvaneka Báhu I. in Vol. XXIII., No. 67, p. 245 of the Journal. The date A.D. 1304, there given for the embassy, is erroneous.

ROBERT ANDREWS

With reference to my account of Robert Andrews, prefixed to the Diary of his Embassy to Kandy in 1795 [Journal R.A.S. (C.B.), Vol. XXVI., p. 49], Mr. J. J. Cotton, M.C.S., writes: "There is nothing impossible in Andrews having entered the service as a boy of 15; that was the usual age in those days both for civilian writers and military cadets. Robert Andrews, who was in 1768 Member of the Council of the Governor was probably his father. And he seems to have had sisters or daughters, for on June 18th, 1795, Henry Taylor, H.E.I.C.S., married at Madras Miss Charlotte Andrews, and in April, 1813, Edward Atkinson, H.E.I.C.S., Miss Sarah Andrews. This Atkinson was, in 1798, Commissary of Provisions at Colombo. So it will be seen that the Andrews were an out-and-out civilian family. I cannot find any Madras record of the marriage of Lieutenant Brown to Miss Ritso. John Jervis, H.E.I.C.S., married at Madras on June 23rd, 1795, Miss Eliza Ritso. Edward Ritso was at that time a Lieutenant in the 73rd Foot."

(See page 51 for mention of "his sister, Miss Andrews," and page 61 for a reference to Miss Ritso and Lieut. Brown.)

J. P. L.

A PROBABLE ORIGIN OF THE NAME KUSHTHARÁJAGALA

There are many instances in Ceylon where legends have been invented to account for the name of a place or an individual. The most common legend connected with Kushṭharájagala in Weligama is that the figure carved on the rock represents a king who was cured of a (*Kushṭha*) skin disease by the use of the coconut as a medicine. A story given in a paper published in the *United Empire** throws some light on a probable true origin of Kushṭharája. It is known that one of the first coconut plantations during the time of the Sinhalese kings was made at Weligama and Kushṭharája appears to be nothing more than Kusiraja, the titular deity of the coconut in Travancore. The following is the passage referred to:—

"There is a curious legend about the origin of the tree (coconut tree). Hindu tradition says that Kusi Raja worshipped a supreme deity and made no offerings to inferior gods. In time he became almost equal to these inferior gods and accomplished many wonders. Amongst other things he made many of the grains. At last he desired to make a human being superior to any ordinary mortal. He completed its head but the other demi-gods became so alarmed that they persuaded him to cease his work. The head he had made was transformed into a coconut tree, henceforth designed to be one of the most useful trees."

W. A. DE SILVA.

* *Travancore*, by E. Sinclair.
United Empire, Vol. VII., (New Series) No. 10, October, 1916. The Royal Colonial Institute Journal.

SINHALESE OCCUPATION OF THE JAFFNA PENINSULA

I have only just had an opportunity of seeing Dr. P. E. Pieris's paper on "Nágadipa," published in Journal R.A.S. (C.B.), Vol. XXVI.

I rather take exception to his description on page 20 of the present *locale* of the Chunnákam Buddha. He says: "Hidden away in the comfortable garden which the generosity of Mr. Dyke had provided for....., the Government Agent of this out-of-the-way Province, is a fine image of the Buddha." This is misleading; it gives the reader the impression that the image is poked away in the confined space of an enclosed flower-garden, close to the private residence of the Government Agent, whereas it is not in a "garden"—using that word in the sense in which it is understood in England, and not as the exact equivalent of the Sinhalese *watta* or the Tamil *toḍḍem*—but in the Old Park—accurately described as a "park"—where it has been most appropriately set up under a *bo tree*, in an open space some two or three hundred yards (perhaps more, as I speak from recollection) from the Residency. It can easily be seen and is seen to advantage. I had it placed in the Old Park on this account as well as for the sake of its security and conservation. The place of its discovery and the date are given on the inscribed stone erected at its base. What more could be done?

The same writer's attempt on page 21 to derive the Tamil *oḍai*, a pond or swamp, from the Sinhalese *goḍa*, which I always thought meant exactly the opposite, viz., high, or as Dr. Pieris himself says, "undulating" ground, seems entirely fanciful and far-fetched. On the same principle the Sinhalese "*gama*" ought to be reduced by Tamil usage to "*ama*," whereas it is represented by "*Kámam*" and "*Kam*." This is etymology run to seed, reminding one of the late Mr. Hugh Neville's methods in philology.

The writer of the paper deserves credit for having followed the clue given by the finding, during my time as Government Agent, of the Buddha image at Chunnákam, and carried out excavations there, which resulted in further interesting discoveries. It is a pity that he left Jaffna before he had an opportunity of adopting similar action with regard to Vallipuram, where the other Buddha image was found, and which, from my inspection of it, seemed to call for such action. I agree with Mr. J. M. Senaveratne, who was good enough to recall from oblivion Mr. Horsburgh's and my own investigations of the subject of the former occupation by the Sinhalese of the Jaffna Peninsula, that it is desirable that excavation work should, if possible, be undertaken at Vallipuram.

8th October, 1919. J. P. LEWIS.

NOTE BY DR. PIERIS.—The image is said to be "hidden away" as it is kept in a place to which the public have no right of access. It is not suggested that the Tamil "odai" is derived from the Sinhalese "goḍa."

PLATE VIII.

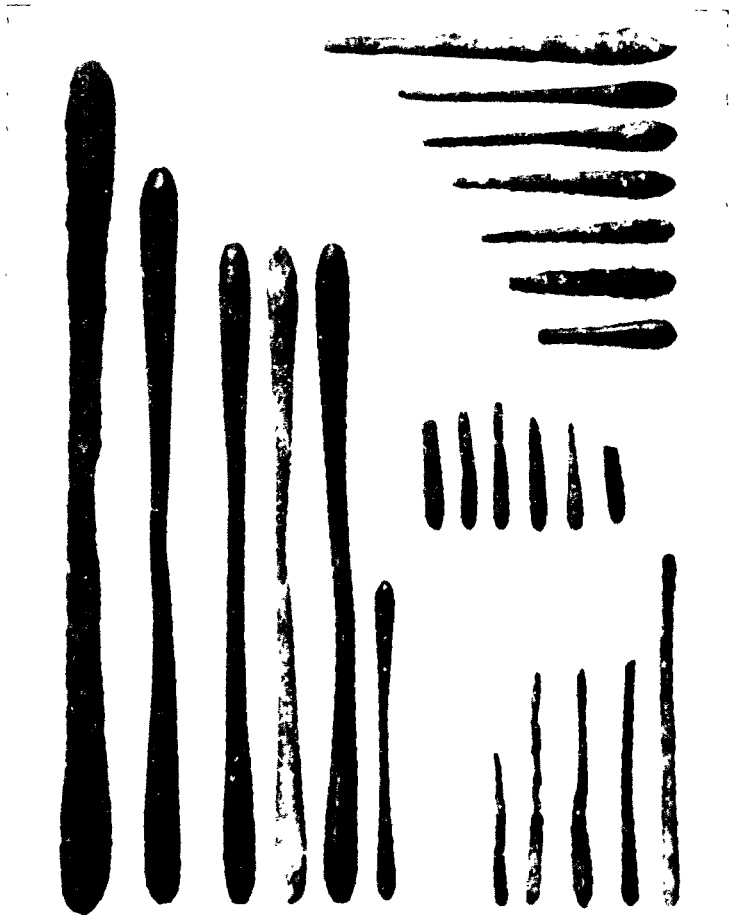


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PLATE IX.



PLATE X.



1



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PLATE XI



PLATE XII.

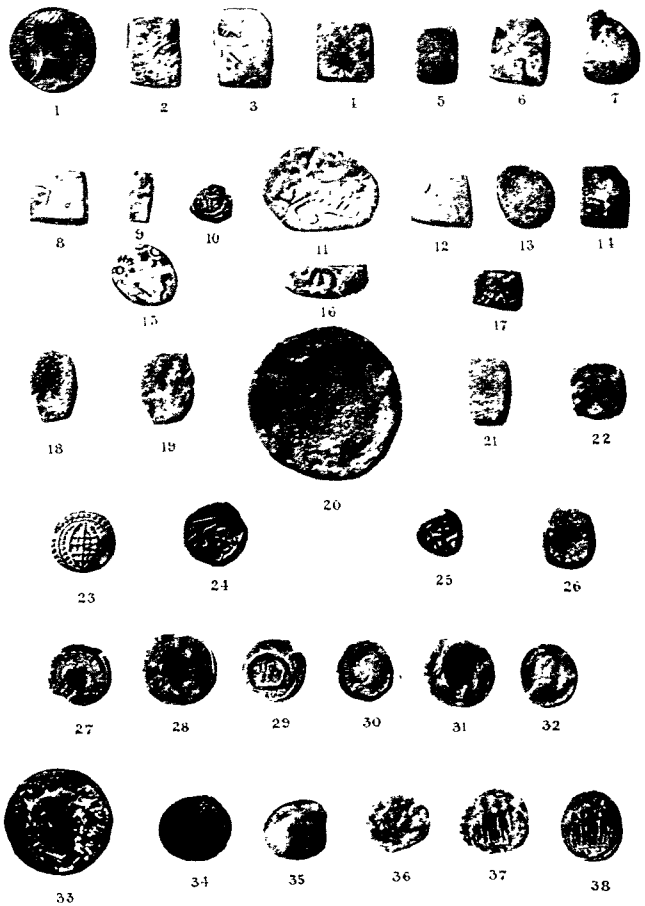


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PLATE XIII.



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12

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PLATE XIV.

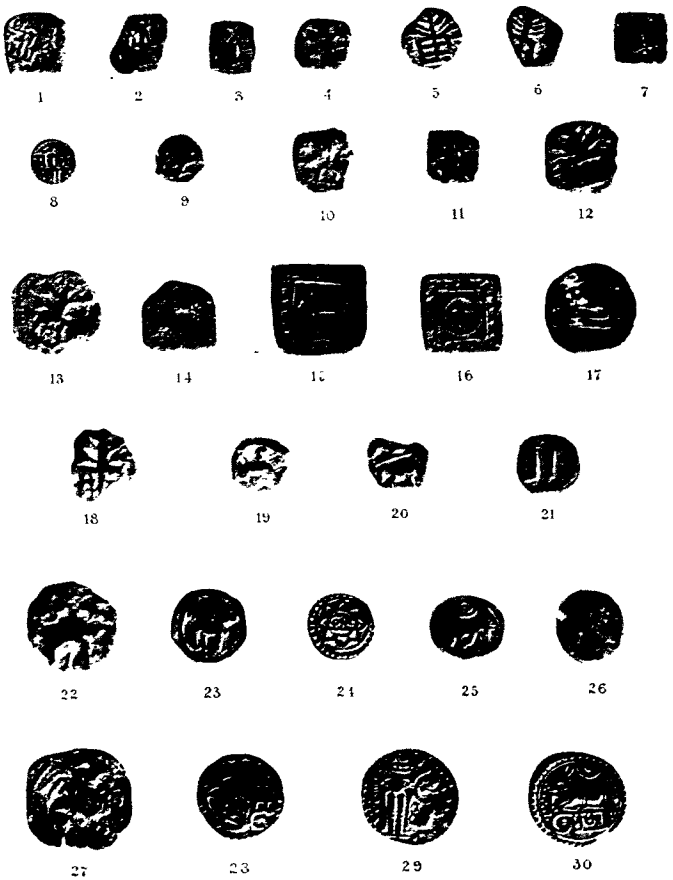


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PLATE XV.



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PLATE XVI.

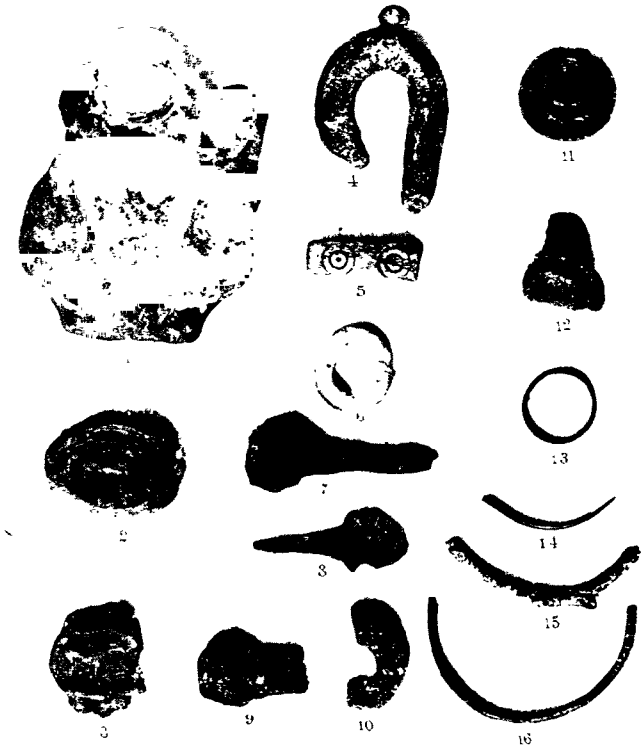
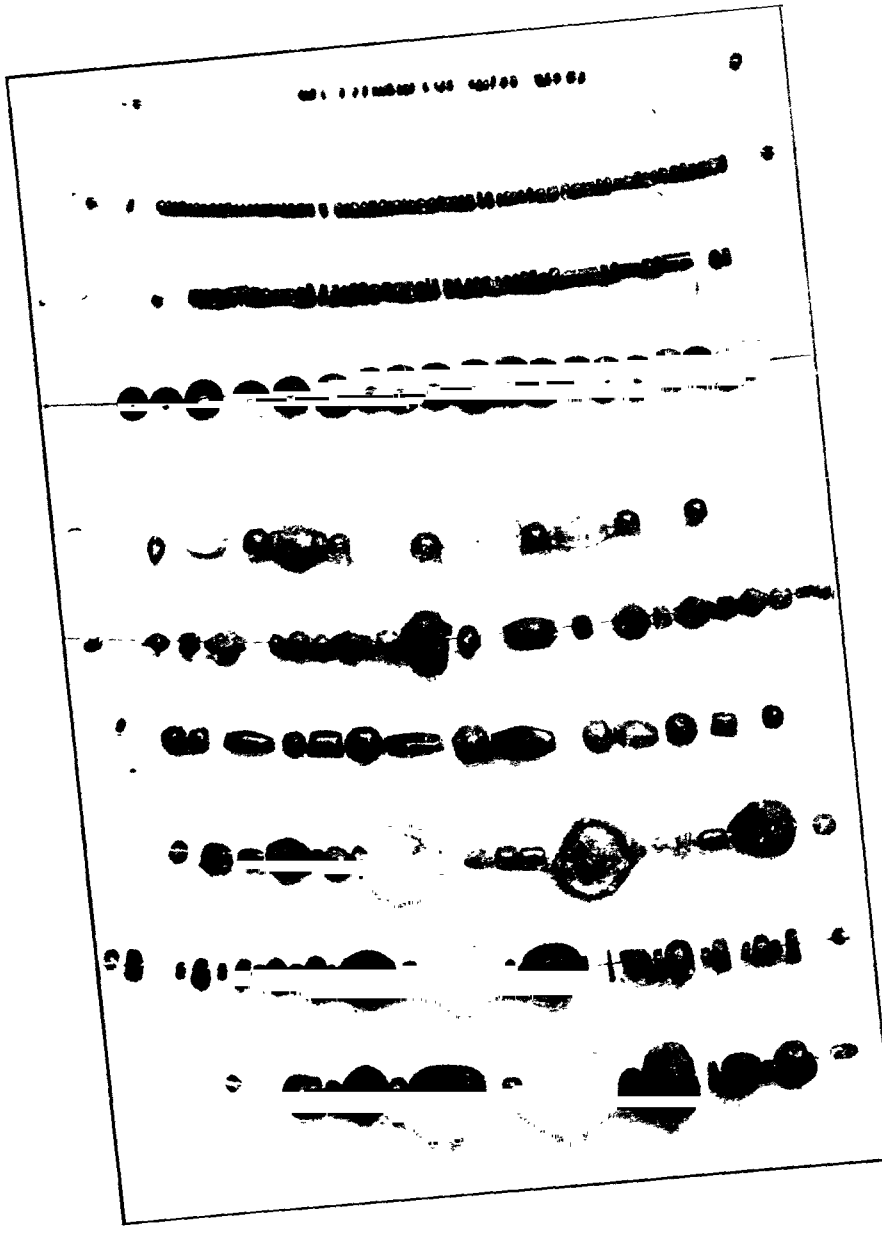


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PLATE XVII



JOURNAL

OF THE

CEYLON BRANCH

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,

1920.

VOLUME XXVIII.

No. 73.—Parts I., II., III. and IV.

PAPERS.

CEREMONIAL SONGS OF THE SINHALESE GUARDIAN SPIRITS (DEVA)

NOTICES OF CEYLON IN TAO I CHIH LUEH

PRINCE TANIYAVALLA BÁHU OF MÁDAMPE

NOTES AND QUERIES.

MARGANA

ŚRÍPURA

THE THUPÁRÁMA TEMPLE AT ANURÁDHAPURA

The design of the Society is to institute and promote inquiries into the History, Religions, Languages, Literature, Arts, Sciences, and Social Condition of the present and former Inhabitants of the Island of Ceylon.

COLOMBO:

THE COLOMBO APOTHECARIES COMPANY, LTD., PRINTERS.

1922

CONTENTS

	Page
Council Meeting: March 22, 1920 ..	1
Council Meeting: June 7, 1920 ..	2
Annual General Meeting: June 15, 1920 ..	4
Annual Report for 1919 ..	4
Council Meeting: October 21, 1920 ..	12
General Meeting: December 14, 1920 ..	13
Ceremonial Songs of the Sinhalese Guardian Spirits (Deva) ..	14
Notices of Ceylon in Tao I Chih Lüeh ..	31
Prince Taniyavalla Báhu of Mádampe ..	36
Notes and Queries:	
Margana ..	54
Śrípura ..	56
The Thupáráma Temple at Anurádhapura ..	57

JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

CEYLON BRANCH

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, March 22, 1920.

Present:

Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt. D., C.C.S., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, J.P., I.S.O.
,, A. M. Gunasekera, Mudaliyar.
,, W. F. Gunawardhana, Mudaliyar.
Mr. F. Lewis, F.L.S.
Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
,, S. C. Paul, M.D.
Mr. E. W. Perera.

Mr. Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S., Honorary Secretary.

Business:

1. The minutes of the Council Meeting held on November 13, 1919, were read and confirmed.

2. A list of books offered to the Society's library by Mrs. J. Samaradivakara was laid on the table and it was decided to leave the matter in the hands of Dr. A. Nell and Mr. G. A. Joseph.

3. The following gentlemen, having been duly proposed and recommended, were elected members of the Society:—1. Wijimuni Douglas de Zoysa; 2. T. H. de Silva; 3. Revd. Saminader Gnana Prakasar, O.M.I.; 4. Don Peter Edmund Hettiaratchi; 5. Nandias Perera Nimalasuriya; 6. Simon Gregory Perera, S.J.; 7. W. Don James Perera; 8. B. James Peiris; 9 A. Raphael Perera; 10. T. Don Byron Senaveratne; 11. M. A. Tampoe; 12. Don Simon Umagiliya.

4. Correspondence re Chinese References to Ceylon was tabled, together with the report of the sub-Committee. It was resolved that Prof. Lionel Giles be communicated with and asked to resume the translations, starting with Tao I Chih Lüeh referred to in his letter, and that Government be asked to re-vote the sum of Rs. 1,000, which was voted in 1914, but subsequently withdrawn.

5. A letter dated November 15, 1919, from Mr. T. Petch, regarding the printing of the Proceedings of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society in the Ceylon Antiquary, was referred to a sub-Committee consisting of Mr. F. Lewis and Dr. Nell.

6. A suggestion of W. H. W. Codrington, that all papers for the Journal and Notes and Queries be submitted typewritten, and that all contributions conform with the Government transliteration scheme, was postponed to enable Mr. Codrington to be present and discuss the matter in Council.

7. The Council considered the recommendations it should make to the Annual General Meeting with regard to office-bearers for the year 1920.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, June 7, 1920.

Present:

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, J.P., I.S.O., in the Chair.

Mr. Simon de Silva, J.P., Gate Mudaliyar.	Mr. C. W. Horsfall.
,, W. A. de Silva, J.P.	Mr. F. Lewis, F.L.S.
Dr. C. A. Hewavitarana.	Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
	Mr. E. W. Perera.

Mr. Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S., Honorary Secretary.

Business:

1. The minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 22nd March, 1920, were read and confirmed.

2. The following gentlemen having been duly proposed and recommended were elected as members of the Society:—1. A. John Silva; 2. Revd. W. Dhammananda; 3. Edmund Perera Wijetunga; 4. Samuel Ariaratnapillai Vairakiam.

3. Correspondence re Local Agency for the sale of books, etc., was tabled, and it was resolved that the offer of Messrs. *The Times of Ceylon Co.* be accepted on the same terms as those allowed to Messrs. A. M. and J. Ferguson.

4. A letter dated 28th May, 1920, addressed to the Honorary Secretary from the Colonial Secretary, granting Rs. 1,000 for the translation of Chinese Records, was read and it was resolved that Government be thanked for acceding to the Council's request.

It was further resolved that the sum of Rs. 1,000 be put into a fresh account and be only expended in connection with the translation of Chinese Records.

5. A paper entitled "Sinhalese and Tamil Analogies," by Gate Mudaliyar A. Naganathar, was tabled.

It was decided that the paper cannot be considered as the writer is not a member of the Society.

6. The report of Mr. Frederick Lewis and Dr. A. Nell, regarding the printing of the Proceedings of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society in the Ceylon Antiquary, was tabled and

it was resolved that Dr. A. Nell and Mr. Lewis be asked to prepare a resumé of the minutes of the Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society for publication in the Journal.

7. A letter dated 5th February, 1920, forwarding copy of Journal Vol. I., Part I, issued from the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and asking for an exchange of publications, was read and it was resolved that the Society do exchange with the Institute.

8. It was resolved, on a motion proposed by Mr. F. Lewis and seconded by Dr. A. Nell, to recommend that the entrance fee and yearly subscription be raised to Rs. 15 respectively. It was further resolved that the motion be notified at the next General Meeting and be submitted for final consideration at the following General Meeting.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Colombo Museum, June 15, 1920.

Present:

The Hon. Sir Anton Bertram, Kt., K.C.,
Vice-President, in the Chair.
Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt.D., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, J.P., I.S.O.
The Hon'ble Mr. K. Balasingham.
Mr. W. Dias Bandaranayaka, Gate Mudaliyar.
,, H. T. Cartwright.
,, J. J. Coon.
,, P. M. Aloysius Corea.
,, H. L. De Mel, C.B.E.
The Ven'ble F. H. de Winton.
Mr. H. R. Gunaratna.
,, G. E. Harding, B.A.
The Hon. Mr. B. Horsburgh, M.A., C.C.S.
Mr. C. W. Horsfall.
,, Sam. J. C. Kadiragamar.
,, A. de S. Kanakaratne.
,, B. W. Leefe.
Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
,, S. C. Paul, M.D.
Mr. C. Rasanayagam, Mudaliyar.
Mr. Joseph E. Rode.
,, John M. Senaveratne.
The Hon'ble Mr. O. C. Tillekaratne.
Mr. F. A. Tisseverasingha.

Mr. Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S., Honorary Secretary.

Visitors: 36 gentlemen and 11 ladies.

Business:

1. The minutes of the last General Meeting held on the 29th September, 1919, were read and confirmed.

2. The Honorary Secretary read the Annual Report for 1919, which was adopted on a motion proposed by the Hon'ble Mr. K. Balasingham and seconded by Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1919.

The Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have the honour to submit their Report for the year 1919.

MEETINGS AND PAPERS.

The Annual General Meeting was held in March, 1919, when the Hon'ble Mr. R. E. Stubbs, C.M.G., Vice-Patron, presided. The Annual Report was read and Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, President of the Society, delivered a presidential address, and a paper entitled "The Authorities for the History of the British in Ceylon (1795-1805)," by Mr. L. J. B. Turner, M.A., was read.

Three General Meetings of the Society were held during the year. In February, Dr. S. C. Paul read a paper on "The Overlordship of Ceylon in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries." At a General Meeting held on the 29th September His Excellency Sir William Henry Manning presiding, Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt. D., C.C.S., Vice-President, read a paper entitled "Nágadípa and Buddhist Remains in Jaffna."

PUBLICATIONS.

Journal Vol. XXVII. (Extra Number) containing Geiger's Maldivian Linguistic Studies, translated by Mrs. J. C. Willis and

edited with appendices and plates, by Mr. H. C. P. Bell was issued from the press.

Journal Vol. XXVI., No. 71, Part I., was issued, containing in addition to the proceeding of the meetings and Notes and Queries, the following papers:—

(1) Andrews' Journal of a Tour to Candia in the Year 1796, edited by Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.M.G.

(2) An Inscription of Gaja Bahu II. by Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A., C.C.S.

MEMBERS.

The Society has now on its roll 268 members; of these 43 are Life Members and 8 Honorary Members. During the year 3 members resigned and 40 ordinary members were elected.

The Council record with regret the deaths of the following:—

Mr. A. E. Roberts, who was always a warm supporter of this Society; Dr. J. Attygalle, M.D., author of a Sinhalese Materia Medica; Mr. D. D. C. Mutucumarana, and the Revd. W. Dhammaratana Nayakasthavira.

COUNCIL.

As the Vice-Patron, the Hon'ble Mr. R. E. Stubbs was about to leave the Island, the Right Revd. Dr. E. A. Copleston was elected to hold that office for one year. The retiring President, Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, was re-elected. Under Rule 20, Mr. R. G. Anthonisz and Mr. C. Hartley retired by least attendance and Mr. E. B. Denham and the Hon'ble Sir S. C. Obeyesekara by seniority. Two of these being eligible for re-election, the Hon'ble Sir S. C. Obeyesekere and Mr. R. G. Anthonisz were re-elected; and in place of Mr. E. B. Denham and Mr. C. Hartley, Dr. S. C. Paul and Mr. E. W. Perera were elected.

LIBRARY.

The additions to the Library, including parts of periodicals, numbered 114. The Society is indebted to the following Institutions for valuable exchanges: The Smithsonian Institute; United States Department of Agriculture, Washington; Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia; The American Oriental Society; The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland; The Asiatic Society of Bengal; The Geological Society, London; The Royal Colonial Institute, London; The Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The Library is indebted for donations to the following:—The Government of India; The Government of Ceylon; The Government of Siam; The Pali Text Society, London; The Editors, Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register and the Director, Colombo Museum.

HONORARY SECRETARY.

Mr. C. H. Collins, Honorary Secretary, left the Island on leave. Mr. H. W. Codrington, who previously discharged the duties of this office, very kindly consented to take up duties again.

The annexed balance sheet discloses a balance of Rs. 538.51 to the credit of the Society and also shows, as desired by the Council, the liabilities to be faced. The receipts last year amounted to Rs. 3,266.63 and the expenditure was Rs. 3,223.55.

The balance sheet of the Chalmers' Oriental Text Fund is annexed, showing a balance of Rs. 1,931.65 to the credit of the Society. Part II. of the Papança Súdani is now in the press.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, CEYLON BRANCH

Receipts and Payments Account for the Year Ended 31st December, 1919

RECEIPTS	Amount Rs.	Cts.	PAYMENTS	Amount Rs.	Cts.
Balance brought forward from 1918	495	43	Charges	1,536	29
Life Membership Commutations ..	29	00	Salaries	1,351	92
Entrance Fees	178	50	Books	2	50
Sale of Publications	880	13	Sundries	332	84
Annual Subscription for			Balance for 1920	538	51*
1920 Rs. 21·50					
1919 ,, 1,530·50					
1918 ,, 420·50					
1917 ,, 164·50					
1916 ,, 31·50					
1915 ,, 10·50	2,179	00			
Total Rs.	3,762	06	Total Rs.	3,762	06

* Outstanding liabilities at the end of the year, Rs. 1,387·00.

Audited and found correct
(Sgd.) J. YOUNG.
13-3-20.

(Sgd.) GERARD A. JOSEPH,
Honorary Treasurer,
Royal Asiatic Society, C. B

The Chalmers' Oriental Text Fund, 1919

RECEIPTS	Amount Rs.	Cts.	PAYMENTS	Amount Rs.	Cts.
Balance brought forward from 1918	1,931	65	Balance for 1920	1,931	65
Total Rs.	1,931	65	Total Rs.	1,931	65

Audited and found correct.

(Sgd.) J. YOUNG.

13-3-20.

(Sgd.) GERARD A. JOSEPH,

Honorary Treasurer,

Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The Council is indebted to Mr. J. Young for auditing the Society's accounts.

CONCLUSION.

Despite the disturbed conditions due to the war the Society made good progress with the means at its command and was able to hold meetings and issue many publications, thanks to Mr. C. H. Collins, Honorary Secretary and also to Mr. H. C. P. Bell, for the Scholarly editing of the Maldivian Linguistic Studies.

3. On a motion proposed by Mr. J. J. Coon and seconded by the Acting Maha Mudaliyar W. Dias Bandaranaika, the following office-bearers for 1920 were elected:—

Patron:

His Excellency Sir William H. Manning, G.C.M.G., K.B.E., C.B.

Vice-Patron:

The Hon'ble Sir Graeme Thomson, K.C.B.

President:

Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., M.A.

Vice-Presidents:

The Hon'ble Sir Anton Bertram, Kt., M.A., K.C.
Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc.
Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, J.P., I.S.O.

Council:

Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.
,, F. Lewis, F.L.S.
,, W. F. Gunawardhana, Mudaliyar.
,, C. W. Horsfall.
Dr. C. A. Hewavitarana.
Mr. Simon de Silva, J.P., Gate Mudaliyar.
Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.
Mr. E. W. Perera.
Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
Mr. A. Mendis Gunasekara, Mudaliyar.
Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt D., C.C.S.
The Hon'ble Mr. B. Horsburgh, M.A., C.C.S.

Honorary Treasurer:

Mr. Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S.

Honorary Secretaries:

Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A., C.C.S., and Mr. Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S.

4. The Honorary Secretary notified the following motion proposed by Mr. F. Lewis and seconded by Dr. A. Nell.

"That the entrance fee and yearly subscription be raised to Rs. 15 respectively."

5. Dr. Nell delivered his lecture on "Some Observations about Adam's Peak," of which the following is a summary:—

Dr. Nell divided his subject into two parts, namely, "The Mirage of the Peak," and "Ancient pilgrim paths to the Peak." Speaking on "the Mirage of the Peak" the Doctor said:

Visitors to Adam's Peak, who reach the summit before dawn, always look for 'the shadow,' but it happens that under varying conditions the phenomena observed differ widely, and hence contradictory reports have been given.

Having noted for my own information the different phenomena, I desire to mention the conditions which produce them and

thus explain these seeming contradictions. There are, indeed, four different, but equally interesting, occurrences to be seen from the summit of the Adam's Peak.

Firstly, long before dawn, when one is watching the eastern sky for the earliest signs of dawn, there is in the western sky a rare shadow, similar to the one to be seen from the Peak of Teneriffe, where also I have seen it. Before the sun reaches the eastern rim of the horizon it casts a shadow of the earth upon the western sky. The western-ocean horizon of Ceylon can be seen from Adam's Peak as the ocean horizon of Teneriffe can be seen from its Peak. Where sea and sky join, about half an hour before the faintest dawn, on the western horizon can be seen the earth's shadow as a dim convex outline on the sky; the double peaks of Teneriffe, one higher than the other, are recognisable as breaking the even curve of the earth-shadow. When looking out from Adam's Peak at that chilly hour the earth-shadow on the sky at the ocean horizon is similarly marked by the Peak and its shoulder, which break the contour of the convexity.

These similar phenomena are produced by similar conditions; an even horizon seen across a vast area of lower elevation and a towering Peak which could be distinguished by its elevation above the country on right and left of the observer. This earth-shadow is not peculiar to Adam's Peak. The shadow of the Peak of Teneriffe is the only other example I have seen, but there must be others.

The second shadow is the shadow of the Peak cast upon the surface of the earth by the sun's rays: it is the same sort of shadow as lies on the road in front of you on a bright day, the same sort of shadow as is cast by a coconut tree or a flag pole. It is to be observed after the dawn, and lies spread out on the half of Sabaragamuwa, past the plateau of Kunudiyaparvati, a vast triangle of shadow so thin that you see the low hills and the plains to the West through the shadow, but with outline so clear and distinct that you can recognise the topmost great mass which caps the pinnacle of the Peak and a little later even the boulder on the plateau with the temple on it. As the sun rises the shadow gets shorter in the ordinary way. It seems to be moving towards you and seems to be becoming broader, but this is an illusion, its breadth is unaltered and only its length is diminished. It is however plainer and more distinct and then you recognise the boulder and temple. As the rising sun floods the land with light, the diffused light from either side kills the shadow and that quickly. It is amazing to see the vast shadow recede towards one's feet and then disappear almost suddenly, but there is nothing unusual in the conditions which produce this shadow. I have seen a similar shadow at Teneriffe. Both the earth-shadow on the sky first described, and the Peak shadow, just described, the first and second of the phenomena I describe, are best seen in fine clear days, free from mist in dry weather during the N. E. monsoon period.

It is just the contrary with the third shadow. Though yet in the N. E. monsoon period, there are some days when after a rainy night wreaths of mist are driven up by the wind from the gorge past the Western side of the mountain. This curtain of mist intercepts the terrestrial shadow and, as it were in a great atmospheric mirage, you see the shadow of Adam's Peak, the mirage of the Peak which has caused wonder and speculation.

The thin wreath of mist is scarcely visible, its origin is surmised from the drifting wreaths seen blown by the wind across one's North-Western outlook. A difference in temperature between the low-country (hot and dry) and the mountain (cold and temporarily wet) is necessary for the mirage to appear.

It had been described in 1876 by the Rev. R. Abbay, whom a few of us remember, and in 1886 by Mr. Ralph Abercrombie; the explanation of the causation given by these two differed and a controversy in 'Nature' resulted. When the descriptions are studied, one regrets Mr. Abercrombie's unnecessary contradiction of the Rev. R. Abbay, whose hypotheses were confirmed by Mr. Abercrombie's later paper. The mirage is due to different air density, which Mr. Abbay attributed to the difference of temperature alone, hence considering the mirage due to total internal reflection as in ordinary mirage. I was compelled to make three visits years ago before I saw this startling shadow, one of the wonders of the world. The "shadow," really the "mirage," does not lie far-flung on the land, it rises up in front in mid-air, confronting you like a ghost; its spectral configuration is exact, boulder and pinnacle, your own figure and your moving arm can be recognised in outline. It appears to confront you like a vast accusing phantom, which threatens the daring of those who ascend the sacred peak from motives other than religious. As one gazes with keen scrutiny it suddenly dips. I am still uncertain whether it really goes downward or whether some movement in the invisible mist produces that optical effect; but it does dip down; it then quickly rises and vanishes. The change to faintness of outline is rapid and this sudden upward disappearance deepens the awe with which one regards it.

A similar shadow has been described by the occupants of the Observatory on Pike's Peak in Colorado, who have observed it at sun-set, since they have the mountain area to their west and the wide level plain to the east, the reverse of the geographical conditions at Adam's Peak. The fourth phenomenon, the 'Brocken' effect, has been described as occurring at Pike's Peak in Colorado as well as at Adam's Peak; when dense masses of cumulus mist roll over the area round the mountain, the "mirage" has been observed with two "rainbows," really "fogbows," over it. I have not yet seen this at Adam's Peak and hence can say no more concerning it. It was when describing this 'Brocken' effect that Mr. Abercrombie disputed Mr. Abbay's explanation of the mirage on fine clear days, whereupon Mr. Abbay retorted that the presence of mist was unnecessary for the mirage and that total internal reflection was sufficient explanation. The rare occurrence of the mirage and its occurrence after a rainy night, as well as the presence of wisps and wreaths of mist which can be seen in the vicinity driven west and northward by the air currents, justify one adding mist as a factor, although it is a mist so thin as to be invisible, unlike the dense mists which Mr. Abercrombie experienced when he saw the mirage plus the two "fogbows." But when one desires to see the "shadow of the Peak," the true wonder, the mirage, one must not mistake for it the terrestrial shadow mentioned by me as the second of the phenomena. Perhaps during a South West monsoon visit one may more easily find the 'Brocken' effect, but during the North East Monsoon even the mirage does not always happen, and hence the reason why the ordinary shadow is reported as an occurrence of that rarer thing misnamed "The Shadow of the Peak."

Dealing with "the Ancient Pilgrim paths to the Peak," Dr. Nell, with the aid of a chart of the district, described the ancient and modern routes pilgrims take on their way to the Peak for religious worship. He also quoted authorities on the subject. In conclusion he quoted a short note, which he had received from High Priest Nanissara with regard to the footprint. His main idea in delivering a lecture on that subject was to obtain some assistance for the discovery of the Bhagavat Lena.

6. On a motion proposed by Dr. P. E. Pieris and seconded by the Hon'ble Sir Anton Bertram, a vote of thanks was accorded to the Lecturer.

7. A vote of thanks to the chair, proposed by Dr. A. Nell and seconded by the Ven'ble Mr. F. H. de Winton, concluded the proceedings of the meeting.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, October 21, 1920

Present:

Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., M.A., President, in the Chair.

Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.
,, A. M. Gunasekara, Mudaliyar.
,, W. F. Gunawardhana, Mudaliyar.
Mr. C. W. Horsfall
Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
Mr. E. W. Perera.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., Honorary Secretary.

Business:

1. Minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 7th June, 1920, were read and confirmed.

2. It was resolved that Mr. C. H. Collins be re-appointed as Honorary Secretary in place of Mr. H. W. Codrington, resigned.

3. The following gentlemen having been duly proposed and recommended were elected members of the Society:—1. Tamoterempillai Saravanamuttu; 2. Albert Seddon Harrison, M.Sc.; 3. Charles Wijeratne; 4. Mutatantrige Dovan Arthur Cooray.

4. A letter dated 24th September, 1920, from the Hon'ble Mr. R. E. Enthoran, I.C.S., regarding the Campbell Memorial Medal awarded in recognition of distinguished services in Oriental Research, was read, and it was resolved that Mr. Enthoran, of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, be informed, that the Society had no names to put forward this year, but that he be asked whether the medal would be awarded in 1923. If so, this fact would be made known to the members of the Society.

5. A letter dated 7th October, 1920, from the Curator of the State Libraries, Baroda, requesting exchange of publications, was read, and it was resolved to agree to the request.

6. Papers sent by the Colonial Secretary for report, regarding a memorandum by Mr. John M. Senaveratne on the Present System of Transliteration of Sinhalese and Tamil, were read and a Committee consisting of Mr. Codrington (Chairman), and Mudaliyars A. Mendis Gunasekara, W. F. Gunawardhana, and C. Rasanayagam was appointed to report on the matter.

The following list of gentlemen, who having been duly proposed and recommended, had been elected by circular since the last Meeting of Council, was tabled:—1. Arthur Eric Keuneman; 2. Lewis Mathew Maartensz; 3. Charles Leonard Perera; 4. Calansooriya Araccige Arthur Jayanayaka; 5. Pattiage Simon Perera; 6. Hugh Lloyd Jones; 7. Reginald Marcus Fernando, B.A.; 8. Gilbert Leonard Rupasingha; 9. Edward Timothy de Silva; 10. Leonard Harold de Alwis; 11. George M. Vassillieff.

GENERAL MEETING

Colombo Museum, December 14, 1920

Present:

The Hon'ble Sir Graeme Thomson, K.C.B.
Vice-Patron, in the Chair.

Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., M.A., President.

Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., Vice-President.

Sir J. T. Broom, Kt.	Mr. L. M. Maartensz.
Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.	,, C. L. Perera.
The Ven'ble F. H. de Winton.	,, T. A. A. Raheem.
Mr. J. E. Gunasekara.	,, M. A. Tampoe.
,, A. S. Harrison, M.Sc.	,, Geo. Vassillieff.
,, C. H. Jolliffe.	

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S. } Honorary
,, Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S. } Secretaries.

Business:

1. The minutes of the last General Meeting held on the 15th June, 1920, were read and confirmed.

2. Dr. Pearson exhibited a re-constructed model, plans, and photographs of the Delft Fort and a plan of Urundi Kotte, with lantern slides.

3. Mr. Gerard A. Joseph exhibited a brick found at Shargat, in Mesopotamia, among the ruins at Ashar, by Mr. J. H. Titterington, J.P., U.P.M., of Bentota Group, Elpitiya, bearing an inscription, deciphered at the British Museum, showing that the brick belonged to the time of Shalmaneser III., King of Assyria, B.C., 783-773.

4. Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P., read the following "Ceremonial Songs of the Sinhalese."

CEREMONIAL SONGS OF THE SINHALESE GUARDIAN SPIRITS (DEVA)

The present paper is a continuation of the notes dealing with the literature of the Sinhalese. I have already contributed to the journal of the Royal Asiatic Society papers on :—

Dramatic Literature,
Medical Literature,
Popular Poetry, and
Ceremonial Songs connected with Planetary Spirits (Bali).

I propose to deal with another branch of ceremonial songs in this paper, viz :—Songs connected with Guardian Spirits or Deva.

The Ceremonial Songs of the Sinhalese are voluminous and are mostly committed to memory by those who recite them and some of the songs are orally handed down from generation to generation, others are found in books written on palm leaves carefully preserved in the villages, a few have been printed in recent times. The Indian Antiquary in 1916 published an abstract and a list of books of Ceremonial Songs of the Sinhalese, which are in the British Museum Collection. This collection consists of 439 books written on palm leaf. These books were acquired by the British Museum from the Trustees of the Estate of the late Hugh Neville, of the Ceylon Civil Service, who had collected them in the villages mostly in the North Central Province. It is to be regretted that a complete collection of these books is not found in any of the libraries in Ceylon.

The guardian spirits recognized by the Sinhalese can be classed under three heads :—

(*a*) Spirits possessing great power and influence,
(*b*) Spirits whose influence is limited and confined to definite localities,
(*c*) Spirits of departed personages who exercised influence over the people during their lives.

Vishnu, Natha, Saman, Kataragama, Pattini are recognized as Guardian Deities wielding great power and influence—temples are specially dedicated to these gods.

Ayiyanayaka, Ganesha or Pulleyar, Mangara, Kambili, Devol, and Dedimunda, are propitiated in various districts as having power and influence in particular parts of the country.

Devata Bandara, Kirti Bandara, Ganga Bandara, Mahasen, Gajabahu, Kirtisinha, Sri Wierama, Solikumara, Ilandari, Nilayodaya are kings and chiefs, who are deified as exercising good and evil influence among the people and to whose spirits offerings are made. One of the songs giving a description of Sri Wickramaraja Sinha, the last king of Ceylon, adds a new deity, a *Desedeviyo,* meaning a foreign spirit that succeeded him, perhaps referring to the British occupation of Kandy.

111 දිසා හතර රට අවුල් වෙලා සි ව
හතුරු සෙනග ගෙන ගන්නා නුවර ව
මිතුරු ගුණ් නෑ ඒ රජ කුමරු ව
හතුරු කමට ඇරියෑ රජ දේසෙ ව

The chiefs of the four divisions having rebelled,
Brought the enemy's army to the City,
No friendly spirit was shown to that Prince,
And through animosity he was sent into exile.

112 බාසවලින් හොඳ සිංහල වව නේ
දේසවලින් දෙව් වැඩම කරන් නේ
රහස නොවෙයි මම ඉද නෙපලන් නේ
දේසෙන් වැඩි දෙව් ඔන්න බලන් නේ

Of all languages Sinhalese words are the best,
A spirit has arrived from foreign lands,
What I am uttering is no Secret,
There look at the spirit who is come from afar.

The ceremonial songs and offerings made to guardian spirits are described in detail in the books. Each spirit has his particular form, has special influence over certain districts, and has his own symbols and ornaments, and special priests and offerings.

Vishnu is recognized as the special guardian god of the Island. His main temple was located at Devundara (Dondra). He has a special niche for himself in most of the Buddhist Temples, and there is a much

venerated Sandalwood image of this Deva in the Rock Temple at Dambulla. The ancient chronicles state that Prince Vijaya, who founded the Sinhalese Nation, was protected by Vishnu.

The following verses, selected from a large number of Ceremonial Songs sung in honour of Vishnu, give a fair description of him.

36 අලවඩන රුවින් දුන්න පණිවිඩ කර ලා
දැලවළේ රණ් දුන්නේ එලිය බලා ලා
නිලවණ් දේව රැසින් ගිණිජල් දී ලා
මෙකාල නැතුව විෂ්ණු මෙමල් යහනට වැඩ ලා

Wearing the lovely golden bow,
Whose glorious light is seen all round,
With blue tinted godly aura of fiery tongues,
O Vishnu! deign to honour us with your presence in this floral bower.

37 කිරුළු එරණ් දේවබරණ නිල සඳුව ඇ ද
සුරුටු එරන් දුනුදඹු සිරිහස්තේ තද තෙ ද
සුරුලී ඉතු මිනිජාලා මල්පවිසුර තෙ ද
ගුරුලී අස්හ පැන නැයිලා වඩින් විෂ්ණු තෙ ද

Wearing the golden crown, the godly ornaments, and the blue tinted dress,
With the golden bow in your powerful hand,
And carrying the golden gem garland in the right hand,
Oh powerful Vishnu, ascend your garuda bird and honour us with your presence.

Next comes the god of Kataragama, who is identified with Skanda or Siva worship.

The temple of Kataragama, situated near the Menick Ganga in the South Eastern division of the Island, has been dedicated to this worship from very early times. There appears to have existed here an independent principality even during the time of the early Sinhalese kings. A representative Prince from Kataragama was present, according to Mahavansa and other Chronicles, at the planting of the Bodhi tree at Anuradhapura.

The god of Kataragama is described as having six heads and twelve arms. Ravana is described as ten-headed. It may be that the mention of heads meant crowns and a distinction that was taken by kings at the time in accordance with their conquests.

7 මූනුසය වෙතා අනුභාව කදිර ෙන්
දීනු පෙරපතා දිලෙන වඤ්ඤ සිරී ඳ ඉන්
බාහුතෙද ඉතා ලොවට පෑපු සුරති ෙන්
රුහු දිවගෙතා මෙමල් අස්න වැඳඔ ඉන්

The powerful god Kadira has six faces,
Victorious he through past efforts has the glory of the bright moon.
With his right hand he has shown great powers.
The heavenly eyed god of Ruhuna, honour us with your presence on this floral seat.

54 අසුරා බැඳී ඳේවකොඩිය අරගණ වඩ හි
මයුරා පිට මල් මුදුනට බැල්ම එලා ල හි
පසුකර අනවින ජනපද මල්වැසි වස්ව හි
දටුමුර මල් සඳුන් සුවඳ දෙවිදුට පුදදේ හි

He is arriving with his flag of Asura form,
And seated on his Peacock he looks on the floral offerings.
He passes through districts securely guarded and bestows showers of flowers (blessings).
And here we offer to the god flowers, perfumes and betel leaves.

The Guardian Spirit Natha is the god of Kelaniya Principality. He is a deva in the Tusita heaven and one who aspires to be a future Buddha. The principal Natha devala is at present situated in Kandy.

7 දකුණුඅතේ ගණරාණ් මිණි කලස දරණ ව ට
ලකුණු ඇතුව වෙලා දිෂ්ටි තොසිතපුරේ සි ට
වැකුණු වලා සඳමඩලක් මෙම උදු මො ට
දකුණු වාසලින් එලිබැස මල්දෙර ගාව ට

He bears on his right hand the gem studded pot,
Observing the signs from Tusita heaven.
Emerging like a moon through a cloud,
From the Southern gate and arrives at the floral arch.

11 පාත කැලණිපුර ලක්දිව බාරව සිටග ඟ
ඛූත යකුන් හට ගිණිදී ධයකාරවා ග ඟ
ඇත කපට බුදුවෙන්නට විවරණ ලැබග ණ
නාතදේව රහ්න ශ්‍රීලක සුරපුරයෙන් එ න

Being in charge of the lower Kelaniya City of Lanka,
Subduing the evil spirits through his glorious powers,
Having attained the permission to become a Buddha at a future age,
The great Jewel Natha god is arriving from heaven.

Saman Deviyo is the deified spirit of the brother of Rama who vanquished Ravana and the Rakshasha of Lanka.

His principal temple is situated in Sabaragamuwa, and he is the special Guardian Spirit of Samanala Peak

(Adams Peak) and the district of Sabaragamuwa. His vehicle is a white Elephant.

7 සමනල ගල් වැඩවැස ඔබ නිතරෙ ඳදවිය න්
පෙමිකර සුබ ශ්‍රීපාවැද නිතිනේ සතොසි න්
සිරිපති ඒ සමන් දෙවිරද පැතිරේ අනයෙ න්
ඉදිපත ගැර රැකදේ ඔබ නිතරේ සතොසි න්

The God who dwells always on the peak of Samanala,
And worships with adoration the noble footprint (of the Buddha)
The master of prosperity, the godly King Saman whose sway is undispute
Is always pleased to protect you from evil,

13 රණ්ඇුබ රණ්රිගෙණ රණ්දුනු සරස හ
රණ්සේසත් රණ්කුඩ මුතුකුඩ ඉගණ දරමි හ
සිංගාරත් ඵසතුරු ඝොස කර සඛ නද දු න
රහ් නාවල් අස්න සඳ, ඳෙවිඳුට ශුදි දෙ න

Decked in golden weapons, golden bows and arrows,
And surrounded by golden sesat golden and pearl umbrella,
With the sound of fine kinds of music and drums and the blowing of shells
Here we prepare the seat of gems of flowers as an offering to him.

Next we come to the goddess Pattini, who holds sway over the minds of the Sinhalese as no other guardian spirit does. She is the heroine of hundreds of ballads and songs. She has dedicated to her numerous temples all over the Island both in the Sinhalese and Tamil Districts. She is the central figure of many ceremonies and is considered to be the protector of the weak, the sick, and the infirm. Her ornament, the anklet, is held in great veneration and her officiating priests have in many instances been females, though at the present time, the officiating priests are mostly men who for the time represent women. The games of Ankeliya (hornpulling) and Pol keliya (coconut throwing), at one time so popular among the Sinhalese, are held in honour of the goddess Pattini. These games and the songs, ballads and ceremonies connected with them have been described in several papers contributed to the journal of the Society.

In the Tamil districts she is known as Kanya or virgin. The cult of the worship of Pattini is believed to have been introduced from Soli (Tanjore) by King Gajabahu. A Solian king had invaded the Island and had

taken twelve thousand captives from Ceylon, along with some of the most valued Buddhist relics. The captives were employed in building tanks in the Solian Country. King Gajabahu, when he came to the throne of Ceylon, took an expedition to Soli commanded by his general Nila and defeating the Solian king brought back twenty-four thousand captives and the Buddhist relics, and also brought the most adored relic of the Solians, the anklet of the goddess Pattini, and introduced the cult among the Sinhalese.

59 නිවන් අත්වෙන හේතුවක් වෙර පාත්‍රාදතුවද ගත් වත්
රුවන් සළඹත් රැගෙණ සිරිදුන් සිරිලකට කැලැපුද
පැවැත් වත්
ගිරන්දන්පස දෙමළ කව්පොත් සත්දහස් සත්සියක් ගත් වත්
මෙවන් සමුදුර රැගෙණ මහනැව් නොවට රුවටුත් සදුගත් වත්

He seized the sacred bowl relic, the veneration of which leads to salvation (Nirvana)
The gem studded anklet the king brought away to Sri Lanka for offering dances and songs,
And brought away seven thousand seven hundred Tamil poems written in grantha letters.
Taking all these to the sea coast port he set sail with the great fleet.

56 සතියක් තුන්විටක පිරිත් කියවා ගෙන්වා රහතු ත්
සතියක් දෙවි පුවත කව්ත් කියවා තිබූ පොත දෙමළ ත්
පැනිරෙන්නෙද පතිනි සඳුට පුදකැල ලෙස එකැන් පට ත්
රැකි මොක්පුර සෙනසලසන් පත්තිනි දෙවියනි මනර ත්

He invited the Rahat monks and had them to recite the doctrines three times a week,
And another week he got the story of the goddess recited to him from the Tamil poems.
From that day it is known offerings were made to the goddess Pattini.
Oh good Pattini goddess, bestow on us the prosperity of heaven.

The worship of Pattini is done both at the temples (Kovila) dedicated to her and at ceremonial dances specially got up in her honour. Her life story is acted to music, dancing and songs, and offerings are made to the anklet.

The Story of Pattini is given in many books and songs. In Tamil it is given in the Kovilan and the Manimakala. The story in the Sinhalese differs in certain details from that given in the Tamil books.

Leaving the miraculous happenings the simple story is that of a wife, who underwent hardship for the sake of a weak unfaithful husband.

Pattini was born in the city of Madura and, when an infant, was placed in a boat and sent adrift in the river; along with the infant was placed a valuable gemset ornament, an anklet. The infant was found and rescued by the wife of a rich merchant in Soli. She was adopted by the merchant's wife as a daughter and was treated with every kindness and affection. She grew to be a handsome and lovely maiden and was married in due time to Palanga, the handsome son of a rich merchant. The husband and wife lived happily for a time. However, Palanga, on a visit to a dancing exhibition in a neighbouring city, fell into the company of a dancing girl. He neglected his wife and spent his life in dissipation.

66 සිසින් ඇඳුන් ඔලිසල් බැඳ ගත් ෙත්
සඳුන් සුවඳ තෙල් පිනිදිය ගත් ෙත්
උතුන් ඇඳුන් ගෙණ සැරසී ගත් ෙත්
උතුන් තොමෙයක් උපමා සිසිගත් ෙත්

(She) dressed in fine and soft robes
And using scented oils, sandal and pertumes,
And decked in noble and costly garments,
With aims and ambitions far-reaching.

67 සවන කොමල මිණි තෝඩු මිපූ ලො
උවන නලල රණ් නිලක ලවූ ලො
දදන දදඅත මිණි සලඹ වෙවූ ලො
නටන ලෙසට සැරසී මෙසිය ලො

Her ears were decked in gem-studded ornaments,
Her forehead and face were painted in golden
The knees and arms were ornamented in gem-studded bangles,
Decked in this manner she started her dances.

Palanga neglected his wife and lived in the gay company of the dancing girl spending his wealth lavishly. His loving wife however never changed her love and devotion to him. She was ever indulgent. He came to her from time to time and got all the wealth she possessed, which he wasted in his newly found company. When he had no more money to spend, the dancing girl insulted and taunted him with his poverty, and demanded money he had lost to her in gambling. He returned home sad and on his being questioned he told his wife

that he is sad of shame as he is not able to meet his debt and had been humiliated. Pattini felt the humiliation of her husband as her own and offered him her valuable anklet which she inherited from her infancy, and bid him sell it and pay his debts.

The following verses give a description of the anklet:—

89 මිලකාල ලෙවරොඞ් හතලිස් දහස සි
ලොහිතන්ක ගල් විසිතුන් දහස සි
එකරත්තරනෙන් එකොලොස් දහස සි
මුදුන් සලඹ මිල හතලිස් දහස සි

There are cat's-eyes to the value of forty-thousand,
And rubies of twenty-three thousand,
Gold to the value of eleven thousand,
And the topridge of the anklet is forty thousand.

90 රණ්පෙඞ් බැඳි මුතු පබලු දෙදහස සි
වටබැඳි මිණිමුතු දෙකොන දෙදහස සි
දසරත්තරනෙන් එකොලොස් දහස සි
ඉද්දර කොනබැඳි මැණික් දෙදහස සි

Pearls and coral set in gold are worth two thousand,
The rows of gems and pearls are worth two thousand
There is gold to the value of eleven thousand,
And the gems set in the front spire is worth two thousand.

91 වටබැඳි ඉටුනිල් මැණික් දෙදහස සි
පිට දෙකොනට මුතු විසිතුන්දහස සි
සලඹ ලිහන හැන මැණික් දෙදහස සි
ඇතුල්පැත්ත දඹ රන් අටදහස සි

The sapphires studded around are worth two thousand,
The pearls in the two ends are worth twenty-three thousand,
The gems on the clasp are worth two thousand.
The gold lining inside is worth eight thousand.

92 මෙකී මුදල් හිමි සලඹ වටින් නේ
සුදුවන් රටකට අරගණ යන් නේ
මිලතෝරා ගනිමින් සතුටින් නේ
ඇවිසී බැන්නා නම් දීපන් නේ

My husband, the anklet is worth all this money,
Take it to any country you can,
Get its value as you desire,
And pay the dancing girl (and redeem your honour).

The anklet was a valuable one and it was taken by Palanga to the City of Madura for sale there if possible to the king so that he may obtain a fair value. At Madura, the goldsmith to whom he took it for valuation cheated him and on his threatening to complain to the king, the goldsmith forestalled him and took the anklet

to the king and accused Palanga as a thief who had stolen it from the king's household. The queen, however, denied that it belonged to her, but the goldsmith was cunning enough to suggest to the king that the queen was in love with the handsome man and had given him the anklet. The king, without further inquiry, ordered the man to be beheaded.

137 ලොව පරසිඳු පඬි රජු නේ
මවනැහා මේ සලඹ අ නේ
යොරු අල්ලා මැරූ කැ නේ
නැතිවෙයි රට මෙසින් දු නේ

Oh world tamed lord, king of the Pandus,
This anklet does not belong to me.
If you charge (this person) as a thief and condemn him,
We may lose this country on that account.

In the meantime Pattini, the patient wife left at home, was anxious as her husband had not returned, she feared that he may have been robbed or murdered and started in search of him. She travelled with her maid far and wide, making inquiries, and at last traced him to the City of Madura, where she learnt that her husband had been condemned as a thief. Her indignation was great. She swore vengeance on the unjust king and was able to rouse the indignation of the people. She led them and surrounded the palace, burnt it and destroyed a part of the town and rescued her husband from death, and later restored the city and rewarded those who helped her.

49 සත්දවසක් ගණනින් පසු වෙන් නේ
එතනින් පත්තිනි සඳ වඬිමින් නේ
වරලෙස උනමින් පිටට හෙලන් නේ
විලාප කියමින් අඬා වැටෙන් නේ

After the lapse of days seven in number,
Pattini started from the place,
She untied her hair and letting it fall on her back,
Fell to crying and weeping.

50 සලුළු බොලඳ කල දැ සි ව
සිතිදු මෙමා ඉන්දැ සි ව
සම්බානෙන් අදැ සි ව
දැන් මේසැප හොඳද ඔබ ව

"From the time I loved and courted you,
And came to live with you in happiness,
From the time I arrived in the boat
Is this the pleasure you now enjoy.

52 මගෙ ගණරන් එසා මී නේ
දුකමට මගෙ නිමි සදි නේ
දැන් දැසැප හොදද අ නේ
මල්මද මගෙ නිමි සදි නේ

"Ah, my golden lord,
Oh my husband, my sorrow is intense
Is this the pleasure you now enjoy,
Oh my husband god of love.

55 නොකරණ වද කරව සුසුයි
එකතිනිවැට ඛන්ද සුසුයි
නිවිසද ඉඛ පලිග සුසුයි
පඩියගෙ ඔද අරව සුසුයි

"I shall torture (the king) as one has never been tortured
I shall burn this place with one conflagration,
My husband, I shall take my revenge for you,
And make the Pandiya feel for it."

105 ගැසුවිට එනුවර ගිනිගෙණ දන් නේ
බොරුවසි කී කෙනෙකුන් කට දන් නේ
පත්තිනි දෙවියන් බලේ මෙතැන් නේ
මාලිග ද, ගොස අතුගොඩ වන් නේ

When she struck the city burst into flames.
And the mouths of those who disbelieved her began to burn.
The power of Pattini has been shown here.
The palace burned and was left in a heap of ashes.

132 එවරෙ දෙවිඹෙ එක්වූ ලැහි මා
පවනේ මල්වැස් වැස්වූ මැනි මා
මිහිකත දෙස කී වතුරක් සේ මා
මදුරා පුර ගිනි නිවිවේ එහෙ මා

The gods of the forest assembled in glory,
And a slow shower of rain they caused to fall.
The goddess of Earth like a roaring stream bore evidence,
And in this manner the fire of the city of Madura was extinguished.

Devotion, virtue, duty, forgiveness and love, which characterized Pattini, raised her to the position of a deity and she is now worshipped as the ideal of womanhood.

Coming to the minor guardian deities we have them propitiated in particular districts.

Ayiyanayaka is the guardian deity of the North Central and the Vanni districts. He is propitiated by the villagers of these districts on all occasions, in sickness, drought, and in agricultural operations. Ayiyanayaka has as his vehicles the horse and the

elephant, he carries as his weapon the curved stick. He is believed to be the son of Siva by Mohini. Mohini was an incarnation of Vishnu. The worship of Ayiyanayaka is common in South India and must have been introduced from the Dravidians. Whether it was introduced during the very early period of Sinhalese history when Prince Vijaya and his followers allied themselves with the Princely house of Madura, from where the Queen of Vijaya arrived with a large retinue, or during later times, during the occupation of the capital by the Tamil king Elala, or during a more recent period, are questions that require closer study.

One of the first Buddhist shrines founded in Anuradhapura is the Isurumuniya rock temple. Before the place was converted to a Vihara it was a temple of gods. The well-known carved figure on the rock at this temple, depicting a Deva or, as some call it, warrior, bears a resemblance to the description of Ayiyanayaka. He has his horse, the curved staff and below are a number of figures of the Elephant. The subject is well worth further investigation.

Ganesa is propitiated in the forest districts of the Island, he is known as Pulleyar and is said to be a brother of Ayiyanayaka. He is, besides, the deity of wisdom and learning and has the face of an elephant and bears the trident as his weapon.

Mangara is the guardian god of Bintenna and Ruhuna, he is the god of the hunters and ceremonies connected with his worship are practised in these districts. The story of Mangara is an interesting one.

Mangara was a young prince of the Coast of India and arrived in Ruhuna in ships with a large retinue of followers. He occupied the Bintenna district. He was a noted hunter and in one of his hunting expeditions was killed by a wild buffalo. This prince was deified and the people in Bintenna made offerings to his spirit. Mangara is the hunters' god. His hunting exploits are described in various songs sung at ceremonies held in

his honour, and these ceremonies are believed to be efficacious in curing various forms of disease.

103	උපන් එබෝසත් මංගර දෙව්	යෝ
	රුහුණ එබින් නැන්නේ වැඩ සිටි	යෝ
	එරන් නුගේ මී කෙටුවසි දෙව්	යෝ
	අතුර රැකෙදන් මංගර දෙව්	යෝ

The great person who was Mangara,
Lived in Bintenna of Ruhuna,
The god gathered the honey hives from the golden ficus tree
Oh god Mangara protect your suppliant.

105	හසිය පනස් ගව්වට බින්නැන්	නේ
	එසිය තෙනම නොහැරම පුදා ගන්	නේ
	මෙසිය නෙදුනි මංගර සිරි දුන්	නේ
	බසිය එහැම දෙස එඅනු භසින්	නේ

In the six hundred and fifty gow of Bintenna,
In a hundred places he receives offerings,
In this manner through Mangara endowed with great powers,
Through Mangara's powers may all your ills disappear.

56	අත් මදු පා මදු වර මදු ගන්	නේ
	උර මදු කර මදු රණ් මදු ගන්	නේ
	රණ් සෙලලද රණ් අඟුසද ගන්	නේ
	මෙලෙස බදමක් ගෙන නිස්මෙන්	නේ

Taking hand ropes, foot ropes, and ropes made of hide,
Taking shoulder ropes, neck ropes, and ropes of golden hues,
Taking golden lances and golden hooks,
In this manner he starts with appliances for noosing.

71	මින්ද රැගෙන විල මැදට වඩින්	නේ
	පිරිවර දුලේ සෙනග සිටින්	නේ
	මංගර කුමරුට පළමුව ඇන්	නේ
	දෙවනුව පිරිවර දන මරමින්	නේ

He goes to the middle field with a noosing rope,
His attendants placed surrounding the spot.
(The buffalo) gored and killed Prince Mangara first,
And next he gored and killed his attendants.

It is further stated that the spirit of the dead Prince was raised by performing certain ceremonies, connected with the worship of the sun by the boiling of milk and the sprinkling of boiled milk.

20	ඉරුට කිරි කැම	නී
	දෙවිඳුට බිල්ල කැම	නී
	යකු පූජාවු කැම	නී
	මෙසී දේ දෙවියන්ඩ කැම	නී

To the sun milk is acceptable,
To the gods offerings are acceptable,
To the demons roasted flesh is acceptable,
And these are the offerings acceptable to the various spirits.

ඉපව සිට කාවිට ඕන්
රුවඤ් සැලි ලිප තබා
වවින් ගිණි පටන් කොට
සුබ මලක් ගෙන අතට

The priests of spirits after due preparation,
Placing the golden pot with milk on the fire place,
And lighting the fire all round,
And taking a flower in his hand.

පළමු කිරි එම විටා
ඉරි දෙවිඳු වෙත ඉසා
දෙවනු කිරි එම විටා
පත්නි දෙවි වෙත ඉසා

The first milk (that boils over)
Is offered to the sun god,
The second milk that boils over,
Is offered to the goddess Pattini.

පැමිණී ලෙඩ මුදන් ඒන්
යස සිරින් දෙවන් ඒන්
උව දුරක් නොවන් ඒන්
මංගු දෙවි නෙදින් ඒන්

May this patient be freed from sickness,
May he obtain health and prosperity,
May he be free from disease,
Through the powers of god Mangra.

එපස් වා මෙපස් වා
දහස් කල් රකින් වා
දිනෙන් මතු දිනෙන් වා
දිනෙන් යෙන් කෙරේ වා

The past five and the present five,
Thousands periods may you be protected,
May you attain from victory to victory,
And through victory prosper.

Every village, apart from the gods already described, has its own special guardian spirit, to whom offerings are made as the unknown god in special residence in the village. Ganbaradevata (the spirit in charge of the village).

I have already given an indication of the manner in which offerings are made to various gods, some at the devala or temples dedicated to them, others at temporary sheds specially prepared and decorated for the purpose. In addition to these, dances and songs are arranged for a group of gods and ceremonies are carried on often

during the whole night, and sometimes for a week at a stretch, both night and day. The more common of these are known as the Gammadu, the village ceremony, Gee madu singing ceremony and Pammadu or the feast of lamps.

These ceremonies are conducted on an arranged plan. Ornamental sheds and arches are put up in accordance with forms described in the books and are decorated with flowers and tender leaves. There are dances and songs in honour of the various devata.

There are many minor deities, some confined to special villages and localities that receive offerings, for instance, Kambili devata is believed to exercise a great influence in some parts of the Kurunegala District and in the Jaffna District. There is a tradition among the priests of Kambili devata in the North-Western Province, that this spirit originally lived in the Jaffna district and he was compelled in time to leave Jaffna and settle in the Kurunegala District.

Another guardian spirit who is recognized widely throughout the country and more particularly in the maritime provinces is Devol deviyo. He is also known as the Kurumbara, the god of fire.

The story of this deity shows that he was the chief of a shipwrecked party of merchants, who arrived in Ceylon from the Carnatic coast of India. The party of merchants, seven in number, under the leadership of Devol, fitted up ships and, loading them with merchandise, set sail on a trading expedition; their ships were caught in a storm and were driven helpless. They passed a number of ports in the West coast of the Island without their being able to make any landing, and then on to the South coast; they were wrecked about Devundara and got into rafts, but were driven away by hostile people from Devundara, and then from Ririgal near Galle, then from Unawatuna to the south of the port of Galle. They landed at Seenigama to the north of Galle; at this place they gave offerings to their Kurumbara gods and had a fire dance and fire ceremony.

The inhabitants were so awed by the strangers that they eventually erected a devala in the village and made offerings to them.

At each of the other places where the shipwrecked merchants attempted to land Devala or Temples were dedicated to them. These Devala exist up to the present day, with the Kapuwa or attendant priests.

The verses sung in connection with ceremonies connected with this deity give an account of the whole story, from the fitting up of the ships to their shipwreck and landing at the coast of the Island.

113 සැට රියනක් දිග මුදුන් කුඹි සි ට
පටසලු දඹරන් කොඩියනි මුදු න ට
අට සියයක් රන් කොන් පිහිටා සි ට
රට ගෙනයනි නැව සිංහල දේසෙ ට

From the sixty cubit high main mast
Flew the golden silk flag and
Decorated with eight hundred golden points
The ship set sail to the Sinhala Country.

13 ඉරිදු අස්ලිස නැකතින් නැව කරවා ග න
සඳුදු බෙරනය නැකතින් බඳු පටවා ග න
සැමදු වාසල සත්දෙන විමෙන් සිට ග න
එමදු සෙසු දෙවොල් හලඹ ගෙණ කැදවා ග න

Launching the ship on the auspicious asterish Aslisa on a Sunday,
Loading it at the auspicious sign of Berana on a Monday.
The seven lords taking their places in the cabins
And taking the good anklet of the devol god with them.

4 වාතත් නද සුලඟින් හැම වා රු
ඛනත්කර රැල එහි ඉඩ නෑ රු
ඇතත් යනු බැරි ගොඩ දූක නෝ රු
අපෝහත් නැව බිඳුනයි එම වා රු

The wind continued to blow a storm,
There was no break in the frightful waves of the sea.
No land was visible and no further progress could be made,
The heavily laden ship was wrecked on the spot.

5 කඹත් කුඹත් රුවලුත් බිද ගිය නැ න
සුවත් කරේ රන් ලෑලි බදු ඉග න
සතක් පමණ රන් මිණි පොදි බැද ග න
ඔබත් මොබත් බලමින් පිහනි දූ න

The ropes, masts, and sails were all asunder
The only refuge was to cling to the planks
Taking about seven bundles of precious goods
They swam seeking for a refuge.

Vahala gods or gods of the palaces form a large class. They are often treated as one group and offerings

are made collectively. In certain districts one or more of these are treated separately, and special ceremonies are performed in their honour. One of the chief of such gods is Dedimunda.

Dedimunda Deviyo goes under several names. He was born in Talagiri rock. His father was the Yakka Chief Purnaka and his mother the handsome Naga Princess Irandati. He was known as Sandunkumara as he lived in a Sandalwood forest. He commanded the Yaksha army and hence received the name Dedimunda. He became the guardian of the great gem at Anotatta Lake and received the title of Menik Bandara. He became the guardian of the gem-set seat of the City of Kelaniya and obtained the title of Kirti Bandara. He was known as Uva Bandara for guarding the Soli Country. For destroying the rock at Kirulagama he became Devata Bandara. He had an elephant as his vehicle.

Dedimunda Devata is also known as Alutnuvara Deviyo. His chief temple is situated at Alutnuwara, in Kegalle District, where offerings are made to him.

දිඹ බලෙ දසමරු යුදයට පෑ ප ණ
හැඩ බලෙ පුණිකා හට දී වෙමි ණ
වැඩි රුව රන්දෙති කුස පිළිසිඳ ණ
දැඩි මුඛ දෙවිඳුට දලුමුර මෙත ණ

Who joined the powerful ten Maras in their wars
Powerful Purnaka was his father
Handsome Irandati gave him birth
Dedimunda god to thee we make offerings here.

W. A. DE SILVA.

5. On a motion proposed by the Chairman and seconded by Dr. A. Nell, a vote of thanks was accorded to the Lecturer.

6. A vote of thanks to the Chair, proposed by Sir P. Arunáchalam, brought the proceedings to a close.

THE CHINESE REFERENCES TO CEYLON

INTRODUCTION

It is well known that the Chinese records contain a considerable number of references to Ceylon, some of them of great interest and value to the student of Ceylon History and Chronology. Of the passages in which these references occur some have already been made accessible to Ceylon readers.* but there remain many important passages which have not, so far, been translated and published in English. The Council of the Society approached Government on the subject in the year 1914, and obtained a grant of Rs. 1,000 to be used to obtain translations of passages relating to Ceylon in the Chinese records. However, before this sum could have been utilized the war with Germany broke out, and the vote had to lapse. After the war Government very generously revoted the same sum, and arrangements were made with Prof. Giles of the British Museum to undertake the translations. The first of these translations is now published, and this will be followed from time to time by further similar extracts, as they are received from England. The Society is greatly indebted to Prof. Giles for his scholarly work.

* *Vide* J.R.A.S., C.B., Vol. XXIV., No. 68, Part I., *passim*.

NOTICES OF CEYLON IN TAO I CHIH LÜEH

By WANG TA-YUAN (A.D. 1349)

I. *Sêng-ka-la.** The country consists of a ring of green hills rising one behind another, and encircled by the ocean. Half-way up one of these hills is a solitary Buddhist temple, where the earthly remains of Sakya-muni Buddha are preserved. The people represent his form by means of images, and continue to worship him with incense and candles down to the present day, as though he were still living. On the sea coast there is a rock shaped like a lotus-flower, which bears the imprint of Buddha's foot, 2 ft. 4 ins. long, 7 ins. wide, and about 5 ins. deep. Though it is washed by the tide, the water in this hollow is not salt but has a sweet taste like new wine. If sick people drink it they are cured; if old people drink it, their years may be prolonged. The natives are over 7 feet high, they have brown faces and black bodies, large eyes and long hands and feet. They are sleek and physically robust, worthy scions of the family of Buddha, and there are many centenarians among them. Taking pity of yore on the inhabitants of these parts because they were poor and given to piracy, Buddha brought them into virtuous ways. He also sprinkled the soil with "sweet-dew liquor," so that now it produces rubies which the natives dig up. Those that they take in their left hands they keep for themselves, those that they pick up with their right they dedicate to Buddha, so that they may attain salvation hereafter. The wealth thus reserved for commercial purposes has caused the whole population to become well-clad, well-fed and virtuous. In front of the altar of Buddha stands

* Already an obsolete name for Ceylon in Wang's time. Applied here only to the southern extremity of the island.

a large alms' bowl made of a certain material which is neither jade nor copper nor iron. It is of a lustrous purple colour, and when struck gives a ringing sound like glass. Hence, at the beginning of this dynasty,* envoys were sent on three separate occasions to carry it away; but no sooner had they arrived in the country than they began glorifying the Buddhist religion and preaching it to others. This exposed them to the censure of the Confucianists; but who, having regard to the noble appearance of the inhabitants and the innocence of their lives, could refuse to become a believer?

II. *Kao-lang-pu* (Colombo) lies at the foot of the Great Buddha Mountain, in a bay the shores of which are strewn in all directions with lumps of rock salt. The land is damp and low-lying, the soil is poor, and rice and corn are very dear. The climate is hot. The customs of the people are churlish; sailors who are so unlucky as to be wrecked, or who put in at this place for a short sojourn, are exploited solely for the benefit of the overlord. All the merchandise with which their ships are laden, mostly consisting of gold and jewels, is confiscated by the chief, who looks upon it as a gift from heaven. Little does he reck of the cold and hunger with which the sailors' wives and children are faced in consequence! Both sexes do up their hair, binding it with *pa-lang-na-hsien*† (?Javanese) cloth. They boil the sea-water to make salt, and ferment the juice of the sugar-cane to make spirits. They are governed by a tribal chieftain. The country produces rubies similar to those in Sêng-ka-la. The articles of commerce (imported from abroad) include *Pa-chou* cloth,‡ tin from the Straits, spirituous liquors, rose-water, sapan-wood, gold, silver, etc.

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* The Yüan or Mongol dynasty (1280-1368 A.D.).

† Elsewhere in the book written *Pa-chieh-na-hsien*.

‡ Mentioned again as the product of *Sha-li-pa-chou*. It is probable that *Sha-li-pa-tan* is the true reading, in which case the place might be identified with the "Jurfattan" of the Arabs, or Cananore.

III. *Chin-t'a* ("Golden Tope") at the foot of the Old Cliff, close by the holy well, is a tope over 100 feet high; its roof was once plated with gold, but it is now bare and the stone is crumbling, and only the moss and lichen covering it are fresh and green. At the top there is a crane's nest, more than 7 ft. wide: there are two cranes, male and female, with red heads, such as are commonly seen in China, which nest here every year. According to a tradition handed down by the descendants of the tribal chief, the birds first came more than a thousand years ago. Every spring they rear one or two fledglings, which fly away as soon as their wings have grown, and only the parent birds remain. The natives have placed a tablet here with the inscription: "Old Crane Village." The soil of the district is infertile, and the people poor. The climate is variable. The customs of the inhabitants are rude. Both sexes do up their hair in a mallet shaped top-knot, bound round with white cotton cloth, to which is attached a flowing band. The people boil the sea-water to make salt, and the women's occupation is agriculture and weaving. There are many centenarians. The products include coarsely woven cloth handkerchiefs and cotton. Articles of commerce used by foreigners are iron cauldrons, variously coloured cloth, etc.

IV. *Ti-san-chiang* ("Third Harbour"). The old name was Ma-yüan,* but it is now called New Harbour. The sea-coast is divided into a northern and a southern section. The people build houses to live in (*i.e.*, are not cave-dwellers). The soil, climate, customs, and peculiarities of dress distinguishing the sexes, are the same as those of *Pa-chou*.† At a distance of some 80 *li*‡ from this harbour, the sea goes by the name of

* The printed text has Wei-yüan, but a manuscript copy consulted by the editor gives the better reading which I have adopted.

† See note‡ on p. 32.

‡ Between 25 and 30 miles. The length of the *li* varies greatly in different places.

Ta-lang (Great Brilliance), for at this spot it is extremely rich in pearl-oysters. At the season when these are gathered, the tribal chief slays a human being and about a dozen animal victims as a sacrifice to the sea-god. On a specially selected day a number of boats with their crews are assembled for pearl-fishing. There are five men as a rule to each boat, of whom two act as oarsmen, while two are told off to work the rope. The fifth man hangs round his neck a bag fitted with a bamboo ring to keep its mouth open, and then, having tied a stone round his waist, he is lowered on the rope-line to the bottom of the sea. With his hands he detaches the pearl-oysters from their bed and puts them in the bag. Then he grasps the rope and gives it a pull as a signal for the men in the boat to haul it in, and thus he is drawn up to the surface, when he empties his bag of oysters into the boat. As soon as the boats are fully laden, they return to the Government dépôt and are placed under a military guard. After the lapse of a few days, when the flesh of the oysters has rotted, the shells are removed and the putretying flesh is thrown into a sieve, where it is stirred round until the flesh is scoured away and only the pearls remain. These are again sifted in a very fine-meshed sieve, half of them being appropriated by the Government and the other half distributed in equal shares amongst the boatmen. As for the sea-god (and his share of the booty),* full many of the divers who fetch the pearls find their last resting-place in the maw of sharks. Alas! most pitiable is such a harvesting. Those divers who are lucky enough to survive their year's fishing, usually barter their pearls for gold and go home to enjoy the large profits they have made—enough to establish them as men of wealth. But few indeed are they who are so favoured by fate.

V. *Ta-fo-shan* (Great Buddha Mountain). The territory of Ta-fo-shan lies between Ya-li (Galle) and

* These words, though not in the text, I have inserted in order to bring out what appears to me to be the meaning.

Kao-lang-pu (Colombo). On the 2nd day of the 10th moon, in the winter of the year *Kêng-wu* of the *Chih-shun* period (12th November, 1330, A.D.), we unbent sails at the foot of the mountain. The moon was shining that night as bright as day, and the sea was smooth and waveless. The water was so clear that one could see to the bottom. I got up and walked about, gazing down the while into this submarine world. There I saw a tree-like object swaying gently to and fro. Pointing it out to the sailors, I asked them whether it might not be a piece of pure *lang-kan* coral. They said no. "Is it the shadow of a *so-lo* tree in the moonlight?" Again they said no. So I bade one of the boys dive down and secure it. He did so, and it turned out to be something soft and slimy, which however became as hard as iron when it was pulled out of the water. I took it in my hands and examined it. It was barely a foot in height, and the tips of the branches were curled up into knots. On each branch—wonderful to relate!—was the bud of a pink flower; some of these had already opened of themselves, and resembled the tree-peony, while others were half open and appeared similar to lotus-buds. The sailors brought candles and crowded round to look at it; then they all began to dance about in their excitement, laughing and saying: "This is a ch'iung (?pink coral) tree in full bloom—truly, a rare product of the sea, of which marvellous accounts have reached China. We have sailed these seas for more than forty years and have never seen a specimen before. And now to think that you, sir, have actually found one! Why, it is something you come across only once in a thousand years." The next day I composed an old-style poem in a hundred stanzas to commemorate the event, and carefully put away my treasure to bring home with me. Mr. Yü Chün-an of Yü-chang (the modern Nan-ch'ang in Kiangsi) saw it and wrote a piece of poetry about it. It has been preserved ever since in the Chün-tzû Hall of that city as an object of curiosity for future generations.

PRINCE TANIYAVALLA BÁHU OF MÁDAMPE

By H. C. P. BELL, C.C.S. (Retired)

During some part of the first half of the 16th century, Prince Taniyavalla Báhu ruled at Mádampe in the Chilaw District, vicariously for his half-brother Dharmma Parákrama Báhu IX., then on the Kóṭṭé throne.

Casie Chetty, writing in 1847,* says:—

> No vestiges of the Royal residence are now extant; but the memory of the King Tanivalla Báhu is still kept up by the Buddhist inhabitants in the devil-dance, which they occasionally perform in his honour under the large *banian* tree on the side of the high road.

Taniyavalla Báhu was, according to Valentyn,† the "second" of "five" (really six) sons of Víra Parákrama Báhu VIII. (A.D. 1485-1508), of whom the eldest, Dharmma Parákrama Báhu IX., succeeded him. The other five brothers (three full, two half) were Śrí Rája Siṇha, Vijaya Báhu (who afterwards reigned as Vijaya Báhu VII.), Rayigam Baṇdára, Śrí Valla Báhu (Vallabha), and Taniyavalla Báhu—the last two of the second bed.

In none of the recognised Siṇhalese Histories are we given more than a glimpse of Taniyavalla Báhu's sway at Mádampe. That one fleeting notice is afforded by the *Rájawaliya* alone. It alludes briefly to the repelling of a sudden descent on the North West of Ceylon by an Expedition under a Southern Indian Moor.

In this defence, as "Warden" of the sea-coast "marches," against foreign incursion, Taniyavalla Báhu,

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* Journal C.A.S., 1847-8, p. 116.

† "Zyn tweede soon, *Taniam Vallaba*, wierd Konig van Candopiti Mádampe (*Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien*, 1724-6, p. 74).—B.

according to the above Chronicle, was materially aided by Śrí Vallabha, his uterine brother, then settled at Uḍa-Gampola in the Colombo District. They completed the rout of the piratical expedition by the destruction of the enemy's fleet after killing the Moorish leader.

The episode is thus related in the *Rájawaliya**:—

During the reign of Dharmma Parákrama Báhu, a Moorish pirate, Kadirayána by name, coming from Káyala Paṭṭana, landed at Chilaw, accompanied by a large body of Moors, for the purpose of forcibly fishing for pearls at Chilaw, and capturing elephants.

Dharmma Parákrama Báhu, learning this, sent for Prince Sakalakalá Valla, entrusted to him a large army, and gave him permission to attack the marauders.

Attended by a large army, Sakalakalá Valla went to Mádampe, and, having consulted with his younger brother Taniya Valla, mounted his horse, while his brother mounted an elephant. They charged into the midst of the Moorish host on opposite sides, killed many Moors, stabbed to death Kadirayána Mudaliyár, seized the Moors who had come to fish for pearls and had the dhonies broken up by elephants, capturing 89 persons.

Then they went to the city of Jayawardhana (Kóṭṭé) and presented themselves before the King, Parákrama Báhu. Having received (from His Majesty) many presents, the two Princes went each to his own city."

It is not known how, or when, Prince Taniyavalla Báhu died.

The late Mr. E. T. Noyes (formerly Assistant Government Agent, Chilaw) mentions a tradition existing in the Chilaw District that he committed suicide.

Some colour is lent to this supposition by two chance references to Taniyavalla Báhu in the *Kuruṇégala Vistaraya*†—that curious Siṇhalese hotch-potch, couched in simple language, of occasional historical fact and weird fiction, drawn from floating legend.

The first reference which quaintly tells, in few words, the story of the escape of Taniyavalla Báhu's *Yakaḍa dóliya* or inferior wife or wives, is perhaps not unconnected with the subsequent reference to the battle

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* *Rájawaliya* (English version), 1900, pp. 71-2.

† Unpublished *Ola* MS; in the Government Oriental Library. Subject: Traditional notices of certain towns in the Máyá division of Ceylon, and persons; of little historical value.—B.

with Vídiye Rája (the elder of his grandsons,)* as a result of which Taniyavalla Báhu, and perhaps his two sons, lost their lives.

This is the unsophisticated tale as given in the *Kurunégala Vistaraya MS.*:—

Persons in authority came to escort (*lit.* remove) the *Yakada dóliya* of King Taniyavalla Báhu of Mádampe (*Mádampe Vásala Tanivella Báhu Rajjuruvan*). Consenting not thereto, (the wives) secretly, in the night, without informing any one, concealed themselves inside two bundles of mats (and so escaped). As they were thus being borne away, dawn (*eliya*) broke, at the spot where the Deduru Oya was crossed.

On this account, that village (*gama*) acquired the name *Elivitaya*. To the Yakkás (*Yaku*) who inhabited that village, declaring "Let this village in future belong to you," (the King) granted it (boundaries specified) under *atuhan paraveni* tenure (*atu kadágana sitiyáya*).

After a short interpolation of irrelevant matter, the *Kurunégala Vistaraya* proceeds:—

To the younger sister (*naqá*) of the King of Kóṭṭé (*Kótté Vásala Rajjuruvanne*), given in marriage to King Taniyavalla Báhu of Mádampe, were born two princes.

Subsequently Vídiye Rája* on horseback (*asaku negi*) led a force to fight against Taniyavalla Báhu, who, in fear, mounted a horse, accompanied by the two princes, and taking also the Tusker Elephant-Keeper (*Etá balana Panikkayá*), fled. Vídiye Rája, attacking them, captured the two princes, and had them bound. The village where those princes were bound is called *Kumára kattuva*.

Further, he seized the Elephant-Keeper and killed him. As he was a Yakká, he obtained the name *Panikki Bandára*

Moreover, he captured King Taniyavalla Báhu and put him to death.† The king became a *Déva*: hence the appellation *Tanivella Deviyá* became current.

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* The "*Treara* (or *Tribula*) Pandar" of Portuguese Historians. He and Tammita Súriya Bandára were sons of Samudra Dévi, daughter of Taniyavalla Báhu, who was married to "a Sóli Prince" (*Rájawaliya*, p. 79) or "a Malabar King from the lands of Jaffnapatnam" (*Valentyn*, p. 76); not as loosely stated in *Kurunégala Vistaraya*.

Vídiye Rája first married a daughter of King Bhuvaneka Báhu VII., by whom he had a son, afterwards Don Juan Dharmmapála, the last of the Kóṭṭé Kings; converted and baptised by the Portuguese.

His uncle Tammita Súriya Bandára had been deported to Goa, but returned to Ceylon. Vídiye Rája, his father, that "stormy petrel," was killed in an unseemly brawl with the King (Sangili) of Jaffna, to whom he had fled for assistance.—B.

† The Sinhalese text merely says "*allá kepuváya*" "seized and had killed." Taniyavalla Báhu may have been killed, or executed, or even (according to the tradition quoted above) given the chance of making "the happy despatch."—B.

SANNAS

That an uncrowned Prince should have been permitted to issue (or, defying authority, should have boldly granted) *Sannas*—a Royal prerogative—with a paramount King residing at Kóṭṭé, and ruling the seaborde districts from Chilaw (if not Puttaḷam) on the north to the Bentara-gaṇga (or possibly even further) south, is, on its face, if not impossible, unlikely in the extreme.

Nathless, at least three, if not four, *sannas* have been put forward from time to time professing to emanate from "King Taniveḷla Báhu of Mádampe." To find that all of these are spurious documents is not in the least surprising.

Take these *Sannas* in the order of their coming to light.

The first (translation only) appeared in Simon Casie Chetty's *Ceylon Gazetteer* of 1834; the second was published (also again in translation alone) after an interval of thirteen years in the *Journal of the Ceylon Asiatic Society* for 1847; the third was produced at the Kuruṇegala Kachcheri in 1876, or thirty years later—and promptly impounded as a forgery.

In the Nineties a fourth, fifth and sixth *Sannasa* were similarly treated at the Chilaw Kachcheri.* These relate to the Moorish descent on Chilaw repelled by the brother Princes, Sakalakalá Vallabha and Taniyavalla Báhu; but profess to have been granted by the reigning Sovereign Dharmma Parákrama Báhu IX. at Kóṭṭe.

* Yet another *Sannasa* (labelled *Vira Pandiyána* No. 7 and very rightly impounded at Chilaw as a forgery), bears the face date Saka 1263 (A.D. 1341-2) "when His Majesty, our Sovereign Lord, was residing at Mádampé." No king is specified; probably Taniyavalla Báhu meant. Grant of land to an immigrant from "Kávalaraṭa," honoured by the names *Viragangilyána* and *Vira Paṇdiyána* and attached to the Munéssaram Déválé.—B.

SANNASA: No. 1

The English translation is given below exactly as it was printed in 1834:* the original footnotes have been abridged, but otherwise left virtually unaltered.

TRANSLATION.

A Royal Grant of Land engraved on a copper plate; literally translated from the Sinhalese.

Prosperity!

In the year of Saka 1467, on Wednesday the fifth day of the moon, in the month of Esala, this day Raja Wanniya† having presented at the Royal Palace of Madampa‡ thirty pairs of elephant tusks, the village of Navakkadu,‖ Sitravela,§ and Puttalama,** were granted to him; together with this side of the mountain Kudiremale,†† this side of Uluvahu Kubuka,‡‡ situated at (the river) Kala Oya,§§ this side of Diwrungala,§§ and

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* *Ceylon Gazetteer*, 1834, p. 281.

† *Rája Wanniyá:* One of the members of the late "*Mutrakudam*" at Puttalam; also said to have exercised the office of Dissáve, in certain parts of Demala Pattu, which are now collectively called (after his name) *Rájawanni Pattu*. One of his descendants (who retains possession of the grant) still presides there but with very limited powers.—C.C.

‡ *Mádampé:* Properly *Mahá-dampa, i.e.*, "the great city" in the Chilaw District.—C.C.

‖ *Nava-kadu:* Situated in the Calpentyn peninsula opposite Puttalam. Remarkable for its good springs. In Tamil the word signifies "the forest of Jambu trees," but the Sinhalese derive it from *Navakaduva, i.e.*, "the place of ship-wreck" (*sic.*). Others trace it from *Nava-kadu* "nine swords"; alleging that, no less than nine Kings of Kandy visited this village soon after their coronation; and assumed the Sword of State after performing an Ablution Ceremony in the sea.—C.C.

§ *Sitravela:* A small village near Puttalam.—C.C.

** *Puttalam:* A Tamil word compounded of *pudu* "new" and *alam* "salt pans," which were always among the principal sources of the District revenue. Its original appellation is said to have been "*Kaliyánature mugan*," (in Sinhalese "*Magultotamune*") or "the Port of Marriage" as being the place where Vijaya Rája, the first King of Ceylon, wedded the Princess Kuvéni of the neighbouring city Tammanna Nuwara.—C.C.

†† *Kudirai-malai:* (Tamil) "Horse-hill." Very probably the *Hippuros* of Greek writers. A small hill standing on the margin of the bay Pukolam, the northern limit of the District of Puttalam, separating it from that of Mannár.—C.C.

‡‡ *Uluvahu Kumbuka:* Said to be in Nuwara-kaláviya.—C.C.

§§ *Kalá Oya:* This river starts from the vast tank Kalávewa in Nuwara-kaláviya, and, after winding through the N. C. Province, disembogues into the Gulf of Calpentyn (Kalpitiya).—C.C.

§§ *Diwrun-gala:* A rock on the boundary between the Deamla Pattu and Magul Kóralé. It means "the Rock of Conjurement;" and, according to tradition, was so called from the Chieftains of both Provinces having once met there, and bound themselves by solemn oath never to encroach on each other's territory.—C.C.

this side of the rock of Paramakanda,* inclusive. Also a signet ring, a jacket with frills round the collar, and a silver sword, were bestowed on him as *samakkattu*.†

As these villages have been marked by breaking off the branches of trees, they are granted as an unalienable possession.‡

If there be any who should violate this matter, they will be born as crows and dogs.

This resplendent edict is granted to Raja Wanniya in perpetuity, as long as Etugala and Andagala,‖ the sun and moon, endure.

This resplendent edict was granted in the time of king Tanivalla Bahoo of Madampa.

REMARKS.

Dated in the Ṣaka year 1467, on a Wednesday in the month Esala (A.D. 1545), this *sannasa*, on its mere face, belongs to Taniyavalla Báhu.

It is immediately followed in the same Gazetteer by another *sannasa* (translation only) professing to date from a Wednesday in Nikini in the Ṣaka year 1469 (A.D. 1547), which grants certain lands and *vil* (specified) to "Nava Ratna Wanniyá, of Lunu-vila, during the time of the Emperor of Sítáwaka," in return for presents (cloths, weapons, etc.) tendered. The name of the "Emperor" is not given; but the *sannasa* ends in phraseology almost identical with that of the grant of Ṣaka 1467.

In regard to these "*sannas* inscribed on copper plates (of which but two are extant)," Casie Chetty was himself fain to admit:—

Comparing them with the accounts given of the lands having been allotted to the Mukwás by the same emperor, and at the

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* *Parama-kanda:* A small hill in the Demaḷa Pattu; noted for a Viháré which stands beneath it.—C.C.

† *Samakkattu:* A term applied by the Siṅhalese to any thing bestowed by the King on his subjects and is synonymous with the Hindu word *Kelaut*.—C.C. (See *infra* footnote ‡ on page 15.)

‡ A custom obtained in the Island during an earlier period, that when any one desired to own a tract of land, if he broke off branches and set them up at the four limits of his "claim," other persons scrupulously avoided all interference with the land so marked out. The man and his posterity were left in quiet possession by a tenure, hence denominated *Atu-han Paraveni* (*atta* "branch," *hana* "mark," *paraveni* "possession").—C.C.

‖ *Etá-gala: Andá-gala*. Two large Rocks, near Kurunegala, often alluded to by the Siṅhalese as symbols of eternity.—C.C.

same time, there seems a great discrepancy; because of the two *sannas* in question, one appears to have been given by Tanivella Báhu, king of Mádampe, and the other by Bhuwaneka Báhu, emperor of Sítávaka, at two distinct periods.

He adds, with obvious mistrust:—

But they account for it by saying that these *sannas* were granted to their Chiefs in after times, to confirm the original donation of the land on the part of the former emperor, who they say was Malala Tissa Rája, and who reigned between the years 753 and 779 of our era.

Whether the grant "engraved on a copper plate" from which Casie Chetty made the translation given above, is still in existence, the writer is unaware. Efforts to trace it have failed. Its non-production is, however, of small moment; for it is not likely to have differed materially from the later produced *Sannas* (Nos. 2, 3), both of which have come into "the fierce light of day"—to their woeful undoing.

SANNASA: No. 2

Printed in the *Journal of the Ceylon Asiatic Society* for 1847,* or more than seventy years ago. As with the *Sannasa* (No. 1) of a dozen years previously, it is just a crude translation offered without the Siṇhalese text by way of check.

The *sannasa* (translation) states (quoted just as given in the Journal) that it was "granted in the time of King Tanivalla Báhu of Mádampe."

A Royal Grant engraved on a Copper Plate, literally translated from the Singhalese. Communicated by Simon Casie Chetty, Esq., C.M.R.A.S.—(Read 6th November, 1847).

Prosperity!

This resplendent *Sannas*† was granted in the year of *Saka* 1467, on Wednesday in the month of *Esala*.

When *Suriya Hetti*, who disembarked from the Coast, was residing at *Mannar*, the Maharaja sent to him an order and he came and stayed at Puruduwela.‡ Afterwards having sent another order and caused *Suriya Hetti* to come (to *Mádampe*),

* C.A.S. Journal, 1847-8, pp. 115, 116.

† *Sannasa:* Sanskrit *Sásana*, a written grant bestowed by a King upon a subject.—C.C.

‡ *Purudu-vela:* A village on the Peninsula of Calpentyn, about 5 miles south-west of Puttalam, now called Puludi-vaiyal. —C.C.

appointed him *Mohandiram* to collect the tax on milk,* from the seven folds of cattle.

When the *Mohandiram* carried and presented the tax on milk (to the *Maharaja*), he found favour and (the village) *Andaragaspitiya* was bestowed on him; together with this side of the turretted ant-hill and the solitary palmira-tree at *Maruppe*,† this side of the stone pillar at *Halpatawanatotte*, this side of the stone pillar at *Ullamadayawe*, this side of the rock (which stands) on the dam of the tank of *Bogamuwa*, having the sun and moon engraved on it, this side of the stone pillar at *Madanwila*, and this side of the dam, of the tank of *Dimulpittiya*, the seven lakes and the high and low grounds inclusive, in perpetuity under this resplendent *Sannas*. Three *amonas* of paddy from *Bogamuwa* and two *amonas* of paddy from *Uluvarisigama*, and (the lake) *Halpanwila* for plucking and taking *pan*‡ therefrom were also bestowed on him.

As long as the sun and moon endure if there be any who should violate this matter, they will be born as cows and dogs (*sic*).

This resplendent *Sannas* was granted in the time of the King Tanivalla Bahoo of *Mádampe*.

Considerable difficulty was experienced by the present writer, when Archæological Commissioner, in obtaining the original copper-plate *sannasa* for inspection.

Mr. E. T. Noyes (then Assistant Agent at Chilaw) wrote demi-officially (April 4th. 1891 :—

I have at last got upon the right scent, and asked the owner (a youngish Sinhalese, whom I appointed Registrar about 2½ years ago) to bring the *sannasa*. He promised to produce it, if he could find it. This is only pretence, of course; but it is a fact that these people are very chary of parting company with their deeds. The man's father is said to have taken the *sannasa* to Colombo. Casie Chetty must have seen it in order to make his translation.

Tanivalla Báhu, by a tradition current here, committed suicide on hearing the report that his queen had fallen into the hands of the Portuguese.

Two months after (June 2nd) Mr. Noyes wrote again :—

I am sorry I have not been successful in obtaining the Tanivalla Báhu *sannasa* which was translated by Casie Chetty for the

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* This was a local tax paid by the owners of cattle to the Crown, consisting of a certain quantity of milk *per annum* for every milch cow or buffalo. The Dutch commuted it into a tax on ghee; which was continued to be levied as long as they were masters of Ceylon; and likewise during the early part of the possession of the Island by the British.—C.C.

† *Maruppe:* A village about 6 miles south-west of Madraskuli, now called Kaṭṭakádu.—C.C.

‡ The rush *Scirpus globosus. Linn.*—C.C.

Ceylon Asiatic Society. The man says he is quite willing to let me have it, but cannot find it, and does not know what his father, who died a few months ago, did with it.

Patience and tact eventually "drew" the *sannasa*; for—a year afterwards—it was at last produced, and sent to the Archæological Commissioner for examination.

Sinhalese Text, line for line, and improved Translation are given below:—

TEXT* "A"

1. ශක වර්ෂ එකාදහසස් හාරසිය හැටහතට ලත් මෙම වර්ෂයෙහි ඇසල මස ලත් බුද දින...ලැබුනු ශ්‍රී සන්නාශයි... දෙසෙන් ගොඩ බැ
2. ස සූරිය හෙට්ටිල මන්නාරම හිටින පරතෘවාට මහා රජ්ජුරු වන්නේ පනිවිඩ ඇරිය නැනේදී ඇවිත් පුරුදුවෙල පොරොහතුවෙලා හිටින වෙලාව
3. ට දෙවනු පනිඩ ඇර සූරිය හෙට්ටිල ගෙනෙනා පව්වි හතට හුන් කිරි පනිවිඩ කරවඩ මුහංදිරන් ලැබුනාය...හුන් කිරි තෙව කරවා ගතා
4. ණිය තැනේදී...කරුනාව ලැබී අද්දගශපිවිය මුහංදිරමට ලැබුනාය...මාරුපපේ කොන් හිඛහා තනී තල් ගහෙන් මේ පිටත් හා
5. ල් පටවන තොටට ගල්ටැඹුං මේ පිටත් පල්ලේ මඩියාවෙ ගල් ටැඹුං මේ පිටත් බෝගොමුවෙ වැවෙ වැකඳෙ ඉර හද කොා
6. ටාපු ගලෙං මේ පිටත් මාදන්විලා ගල් ටැඹෙන් මේ පිටත් දිවුල් පිටියේ වැකඹෙන් මේ පිටත් විල් ඝඤත් ඇතුළුව
7. ගොඩ මඩ ඇතුළුව පරවෙනි ශ්‍රීලඤමට දෙවා වාදල ශ්‍රී [ස]න්නාසයි...බෝගොමුවෙන් වී තුනමුනසි මුළු අරියිගම් වී දැමුනසි
8. හාල් පන් විල පන් උදුරාගඩ ලැබුනාය...ඉර හද පවතිනා තුරු මේ වග අකඩ කල කෙනෙක් ඇත්නං කවුඩං බලලං
9. ව උපදිනවා ඇත...මාදප්පේ තනිවැල්ල බාහුරජ්ජුවං අවදියෙදී දෙවා වදලාය...

TRANSLATION.

Prosperity! The auspicious *Sannasa* granted (*lit.* received) on Wednesday in (the month) Esala of the Saka year 1467 (A.D. 1545).

Whereas when an order was sent to Súriya Hetti who had landed from the Coast (*lit.* country, *i.e.* India) and was living at Mannár, he came and resided at Puruduvela; and, whereas, for the second time, an order having been sent (to him) he was induced to come (*lit.* brought) he received (at Mádampe) the appointment of Muhandiram in control of the Milk-Tax collection from seven *patti* (cattle kraals).

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* All the *bendipu akuru* (united consonants) of the original *sannas* given in this Paper, cannot be reproduced in the Sinhalese Texts for want of such type.—B.

When the Muhandiram tendered (*lit.* brought and gave) the Milk-Tax collection (the village) Andara-gas-piṭiya was graciously bestowed upon him.

The land bestowed by order upon this auspicious *sannasa* to be possessed as *paraveṇi* property (is bounded as follows) :—

From this side of the pinnacle-like termite heap (*kot-hibaha*), and the single palmyra tree at Máruppe; from this side of the stone pillar at Hál-paṭavana-toṭa (*lit.* the rice-loading-ferry); from this side of the stone-pillar at Pallé Mahiyáve; from this side of the stone-pillar on which figures of the Sun and Moon are carved, (standing) on the bund of Bógamuve-vewa; from this side of the stone-pillar at Madan-vila; from this side of the bund of Divul-piṭiya (vęwa)—all of the above stated area), inclusive of the seven *vil* (lakes) and the high and low land (appurtenant thereto).

Further, (the Muhandiram) was granted (*lit.* received) from Bógamuva three *amuṇa* of paddy; from Mulu-arisi-gama two *amuṇu* of paddy; and the right to gather rushes (*pan*) from Hál-pan-vila.

(This grant shall hold good) so long as the Sun and Moon endure. Should any one violate the order (*lit.* matter), he will be (re)born as crow and dog.

(This decree) was promulgated in the time of King Taniyella Báhu of Mádampe.

Remarks.

This *Sannasa*, as measured, gave 9¼ in. for length by 1½ in. across. Side A, obverse, 7 lines; side B, reverse, 2 lines.

The following reasons, *inter alia*, (communicated to Mr. Noyes) amply show that this *sannasa*, is not a genuine Royal Grant.

(i.) *Symbols*, etc. Mere "apology" for outline *Sun* and *Moon*, and the recognised Royal Sign-Manual ශ්‍රී *Śrí* written wrongly with *goḷu shrí* ෂ.

(ii) *Orthographical errors and omissions*. Gross illiterate spelling *passim* (*e.g.*, දහස *dahassa*; මස *maṣa*, අද්දරගස්ස *Addragaṣṣa*; වැකෙන්ඩෙන් *vękandęn*; හත්තින් *hatthat*; the ං *biṇdu* frequent instead of full න *n*; ස *sa* omitted before *nnasaye*, ර *ru* and from *rajjuvan*.

(iii.) *Plate*. Flimsy strip of flexible copper, on which the writing is merely scratched in with an *ul-kaṭuwak*; not incised by proper

engraving tool, on firm copper plate prepared to receive boldly cut letters.

(iv.) *Writing.* Modern; and covers—a *faux pas*, in itself almost fatal to genuineness—previous writing, as revealed by magnifying glass.*

SANNASA: No. 3

As Archæological Commissioner, the writer had occasion in 1893 to overhaul the *sannas* impounded at the Colombo (Western Province), and Kurunégala (North Western Province), Kachcheries.

At the latter Kachcheri he found, among other rejected *sannas*, a professing *Sannasa* (No. 3) of Taniyavalla Báhu, which had been produced seventeen years before in order to substantiate some claim,† and after examination, condemned by the Kurunégala authorities as spurious.

It is highly significant that this *Sannasa* is dated in the same year (Śaka 1467) as *Sannasa* No. 2, and is worded very similarly.

The Kachcheri Mudaliyár (the late Samuel Jayatilaka) disposed of the *sannasa* in his Minute to the Government Agent, dated July 28th, 1876, thus:—

I have carefully examined the copper *sannasa*, and I have not the least hesitation in pronouncing it to be a very poor attempt at forgery.

Amongst others, the following are some main points for coming to this conclusion:—

(*a*) The invariable Royal Cypher appearing in these documents is not *golu shri* with ෂ as here, but ශ්‍රී. What the other symbol means, is incomprehensible to me.‡

(*b*) In Royal *Sannas* the term "*Mudiyanse*" is only used when the Grantee happens to be an Adigár; otherwise the term "*Mudaliyá*" is invariably used. The professed grantee in this *sannasa* was not of that rank apparently.‖

(*c*) Genuine *sannas* are drawn in very clear hand, and without gross illiterate orthographical mistakes; but the present *sannasa* is a most wretched production and full of mistakes.

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* Writing is too faint to yield anything to pencil rubbing or a photograph.—B.

† No. 9/4: Talampola Case No. 3576, Ve-uḍa-vile Hat Pattuwa.

‡ Probably intended for outline *Sun* and *Moon* symbols, shown as two small concentric circles.—B.

‖ See Laurie, Gazetteer, Vol. I., p. 57, D.C. Kandy, 34306.—B.

Through the courtesy of the Government Agent of the North Western Province, this forged *Sannasa* No. 3 has been again before the writer.

A photographic reproduction of Side A (obverse) is given in the accompanying Plate.

In marked contrast, there is shown immediately below it photograph of an indisputedly genuine *Sannasa* (Side A) relating to Devundara (Dondra) Déválé, dated "in the year after the tenth" (*i.e.* 11th) of Vijaya Báhu (VII.) whose reign commenced in Śaka 1432, or A.D. 1510.* This would make its year A.D. 1521.

Sannasa No. 3 measures 9¼ in. by 1½ in.; writing (6 lines) on Side A only, save that ශ්‍රී සන්නසයි appears on Side B, at the top left hand corner; and Registration Certificate in English, (No. 1141, August 13th, 1869) on its body.

TEXT "A"

1. සක වෂී එකා දහසෙ හාරසිය හැටහනට ලත් මෙම වෂියෙහි
2. බාගෙ මුදියන්සේ මාදඋපා තනිවැල්ල බාහු රජ්ජුවන් අවදි
3 පොතුපිවියෙ ගල් ටැඹං මෙහත් දුබුහා පොකුනේ ගල්
4 ත් නිනිගාම ගොඩ පතහාගෙන් මෙහත් වෙර බැදි
5 මෙහත් වඩමෙ නොටෙන් මෙහත් මේ ගංහනට ගොඩ
6 ඇතුගල අදාගල ඉර හද පවතිනා තුරා මේ වග අකඩ කල

TRANSLATION.

Prosperity! In the Śaka year 1467 (A.D. 1545). In this same year on Wednesday of the month Esala during the time of King Tanivella Báhu of Mádampe.

Whereas Talampola-palle-báge Mudiyanse had presented thirty black *kachchi*† (cloths), the seven villages (situated) on this side

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* Sessional Papers, XIX., 1892 (Kégalla Report), pp. 96-7. Copper-plate, 11½ in. by 2¾ in.; writing carefully engraved. As to date of Vijaya Báhu VII's accession, see Journal C.A.S. 1912, No. 65, p. 285, ††.—B.

† Tamil: *kachchi*.

of the stone-pillar at Velpoku-piṭiya; on this side of the stone-pillar at Deḍuha-pokuṇa; on this side of Ḗvil-kẹkul-ẹtuwa, on this side of Goḍapataha (pond) at Kinigoma; on this side of (the jungle) Véra-bẹndi-kele; on this side of Kuláveṭichchi-ágára; (and) on this side of the ford Waḍame-toṭa, together with high and low land, were granted for *paraveni* possession.

(This grant shall hold good) so long as Ẹtu-gala and Ándá-gala (rocks), and the Sun and Moon, endure.

Should any one violate this order, he will be (re)born as crow or dog.

(This is) the auspicious *Sannasa* (*Śri Sannasayi*).

REMARKS

Few comments, if any, additional to those of Jayatillaka Mudaliyár, are needed in condemnation of the *sannasa*:—

(i.) *Plate and Symbols.* Like those of *Sannasa* No. 2.

(ii.) *Style and Script.* Similar to *Sannasa* No. 2; narrative, not official; writing, recent.

The above trio of copper *Sannas* (Nos. 1, 2, 3) claim, on their face itself, to have been actually issued by King Taniyavalla Báhu of Mádampe.

SANNAS: Nos. 4, 5, 6

Closely connected with them is a further group of three *Sannas*, arising out of the episode related in the *Rájawaliya* touching the attempted Moorish descent on the North-West sea-borde of the Island, which was jointly defeated by the brother Princes Sakalakalá Wallabha and Taniyavalla Báhu.

If the three *Sannas* already dealt with be—and, in very truth, they are—barefaced forgeries, these other efforts may be said to "out-Herod Herod" in atrocity.

This much at least can be said for the first batch of three "fakes": they at any rate kept within bounds of Chronological possibility. Not so the other trio, which have thrown all discretion to the winds, and brazenly put Time's clock back three full centuries.

These latter astounding forgeries—in reality more or less conflicting documents—resemble one another with such closeness as to point to the high probability of all

three having emanated from one and the same hand,—and that a Tamil hand obviously—perhaps the "genius" *par excellence* to whose talent the Chilaw District may owe its fame (or notoriety) for the "fine art" of turning out *sannas* "of sorts" *ad lib.**

The *Sannas* in question were labelled in the Chilaw Kachcheri (where they were wisely impounded when produced one by one) as *Perappan-mulla* (No. 4); *Bómbi-vela* (No. 5); *Bómbi-vela* (No. 6).

The "family likeness" between these documents is striking.

(i.) *Plate:* Thin strips of copper: *Sannasa* 4 $13\frac{3}{16}$ in. by $2\frac{3}{16}$ in.; *Sannasa* 5 $15\frac{1}{8}$ in. by $2\frac{1}{8}$ in.; *Sannasa* 6 $13\frac{5}{16}$ in. by $2\frac{3}{8}$ in. Symbols alike.

(ii.) *Writing:* Entirely modern in all; not engraved, but, like *Sannas* Nos. 2, 3, just scratched in very faintly —so lightly, indeed, in the case of *Sannasa* No. 6, that the letters will not even retain chalk to mark their outline and bear photographing.

(iii.) *Contents:* Similar substantial rewards (ornamental chain, robes, slaves, land, etc.) received for personal prowess shown on the occasion of the defeat of the Tamil (*Sannasa* No. 4), or Moorish (*Sannasa* No. 6), expedition, the death of its leader, and the production of his head at the Kóṭṭé Court.

(iv.) *Grantee:* A "Hiṭi Baṇḍára"; differently named in *Sannas* Nos. 4, 5, 6.

(v.) *Grantor:* King Dharmma Parákrama Báhu (IX.) of Kóṭṭé. (Nos. 4, 5, 6.)

(vi.) *Date:* Ṣaka 1249, Ḍsaḷa (No. 4); Ṣaka 1249, Unduwap (No. 5); Ṣaka 1249 (No. 6).

These extraordinarily fatuous forgeries do not possess a single redeeming feature,—plate, writing, style, and professed date, all combine to damn them utterly.

* The most prominent of Chilaw District *sannas*, successfully impugned before the District Court in recent years, have been the *Adippola* and *Karávita Agára Sannas*.—B.

Even the veriest tyro in forging "royal grants" should have known better than to ante-date by three hundred years a King whose reign is conclusively fixed by lithic record at a well-known site. Dharmma Parákrama Báhu IX. reigned at Jayawardhana Kóṭṭé from A.D. 1508-1527, as deduced from the *Buddha Varsha* and regnal dates in the slab inscription at *Rája Mahá Kęlaṇiya* Viháré.

Ex uno disce omnes. Sufficient if the Perappanmulla *Sannasa* (No. 4), Text and Translation complete, as the fullest of the three spurious grants, be given below.

Of the other two *Sannas* (Bómbi-vela, 5 and 6) mere summaries will suffice.

SANNASA No. 4: PERAPPANMULLA.

Measurements: $13\frac{3}{16}$ in. by $2\frac{8}{16}$ in. and 1/64 in. in thickness. On obverse, to left of the writing, two concentric circles (outer $1\frac{5}{8}$, inner $1\frac{1}{4}$, diameter) which are similar to the Sun and Moon combined symbol on *Sannas* Nos. 2 and 3. Sides A, B each have 8 lines.

TEXT "B"

1. ශකවර්ෂ එක්වාදහස් දෙසිය හතලිස්නව අවුරුදුට සේකැලෑ මෙම වර්ෂයෙහි සවසහි ශ්‍රී මහාවඳුරාඛිණවරත්නාදී වන
2. ධර්මිප්‍රසාදන් බෑහු මහවාසල කෝටෙ නුවර රජ්ජසියකර වදුරණ කලට හොලී රටින් මුතීතු ක්‍රිෂ්න
3. නියන දෙමළ මුදලියන් බොහෝ දෙමළුන් සමග පුහාලමට ගොඩබැස ඇතුන් අලුන්ඩ යුදු කරන්ඩන් සිටින
4. කලට මාදම්පේ වැඩසිටිණ නතිවැලල බාහු රජ්ජුරුවොන් සකල කලාවල්ල බාහු රජ්ජුරුවොන් වලලඹ නමින් පැව(හ)එන
5. මොලගොඩ දුහනනා හිටි බන්ඩාරන් බොහෝ සෙනග පිරිවර පුහාලමට ගොස් දෙමුනේ ශුද්දකර බොහෝ දෙමළුන් ඇන
6. මරුදමා නැවු පොකරදමා මොලගොඩ හිටි බඩාරන් හතුරු දෙමළ මුදලියන් ශුද්දකර දෙමළ මුදලියාගේ හිස් කපා ගෙන්වි
7. ගෙ නුවරට ගොස් මුන පෑකලට රට හොදී කරුනාව ලැබී දෙරිසනක් කරලා සමඝකර්වූ ලැබී වාල් අටදෙනකු හා රන්දුලි කි
8. යන අනිනනාන් ලැබී රට බඩ වැඩිල්ලට ඇසල මස පුරදසමක් නිමිය ලන් මුදදින පුහස් නැකතින් දුදුරුඔය සමුදුාවට පෙරපස.

9. මුලා කියන අසූ පසමුනේ ගොඩ මඩ ඇතුළුවූ හතරමායින් කඩයින් නැගෙන ඉර හරඇසේ විලකතව යෝදයා කෙතුන්
10. මේ පිටත් එම හරඇසේ යෝදයා ඇලෙන් මේ පිටත් දකුනු දිග හරස්සෙන් දුගොබ ලඟ කෙටුවූ කට්ටු උන පදුරෙන් මේ පිටත් [උතු]ර දිග
11. හරඇසේ කලහුමඹු එබෑ මැදවත්ගියේ මහකුඹුකෙන් මේ පිටත් බස්නාඉර හරඇසේ මැද එබෑ ඉහල දියගිල්
12. මෙන් මේ පිටත් [උතු]ර දිග හරස්සෙන් දූදුරුඹේ දඹුවකඤල මෙන් මේ පිටත් උතුරුදිග හරස්සෙන් දූදුරුඹේ ඉහල
13. බොඩිවල මහවක්කලමෙන් මේ පිටත් මේ මේ සතර මායින් කඩයින් කරා මොලගොඩ දුග්ගන්නා භිටි බන්ඩාරට
14. බඩ වැඩිලුට අහස පොලව පවතිනාතාකට ඉර හඳ පවතිනා තෙකට දෙවින් බුදුන් පවතිනාතාකට රජාගම පවතිනා තෙකට
15. ධම්මපඤකන් බාහු මහවාසල වදුල පනතට තිරිවන්ගම ශ්‍රී සන්නස් ලියන මොහොට්ටාලය.. .....බැඳුන් පඬිහන් ගන් නැතිකර වල්ලඹ නමින්
16. පැවති(න) එන මොලුගොඩ දුඤන්නා භිටි බඩාරට දරුමුනුබුරු වරීග පරම් පරාවට ජයවඤණ කෝවිඑ නුවර ධම්මප්‍රසාදං මහවාසලිං ශ්‍රී සන්නස පිහිටුවා දෙවා වදුලාය

TRANSLATION.

In the year 1249 of the *Śaka* era, (A.D. 1327-8) when His Auspicious Majesty King *Mahá Chandrábhi Navaratnádi(pati) Dharmma Parákrama Báhu* was reigning at Kóṭṭé a Tamil Chief (*Demala Mudaliyar*), called *Muttu Krishna*, from the Chóla country, landed with many Tamils (*Demalun*) at Puttalam, (with intent) to capture elephants and to make war.

(Thereupon) King *Tannivella Báhu* and King *Sakala-kalá Walla Báhu*, and *Molagoḍa Dugganná* Hiṭi Baṇḍára, descended from the line of *Wallamba*, who were residing at Mádampe, marched with a large army to Puttalam, and fought a pitched (*lit.* face to face) battle, stabbed to death many Tamils, and destroyed their ships.

Molagoḍa Hiṭi Baṇḍára and the enemy's Tamil Chief (*Demala Mudaliyar*) fought (in single combat); and the Tamil Chief (fell and) was decapitated.*

(Hiṭi Baṇḍára then) went to Kóṭṭé and presenting himself (at Court) met with high favour from the King, who caused a *derisanak*† to be put round his neck. As (further presents) he received *samakkaṭṭu*,‡ eight slaves, and a she-elephant called Randeli.

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* Valentyn (*loc. cit.*, p. 74) has.—"Saccala doeda den Modeliaar, of een van de eerste Colonellan der Mooren, *Adirakarajam*, met een hasagaey." Perhaps he was one of the Generals of Adi Rája of Kannanúr. The honour of killing the enemy's Chief is claimed for another "Hiṭi Baṇḍara" in Bómbivela *Sannasa*, No. 5.—B.

† *Derisanak:* A specially rich gold chain, which hung almost to the waist.—B.

‡ *Samakaṭṭu:* Casie Chetty rightly compares with the Arabic-Hindustani *Khil'at*. See *Hobson Jobson* (Yule and Burnell). Warren Hastings was charged with sending "*kellauts*, or robes of honour

On Wednesday, the 10th day of the waxing moon in the asterism (*nekata*) of Puse, in the month Esala, (the following landed property was bestowed upon him) for his maintenance (*lit.* stomach support), viz., the land called *P* [illegible] Deduru-oya, 85 *amunu* in (sowing) extent, [illegible] tenant, high and lowland bounded thus, in [illegible] viz., on the east Villattawa, Yódaya-kanda, and Yódaya-ela, on the south the clump of prickly bamboos (*kattu-una*) near the dágaba, on the north† the large *kumbuk* tree at the bend in the middle of Kalahumadu Eba, on the west the submerged tract above Meda Eba, on (the north)† Dandu-wakkalama at Deduru-oya, on the north† by the Mahá-wakkalama at Bombiwala (further) up the Deduru-oya. All this extent (of land), within the above defined four boundaries, was granted to Molagoda Dugganná Hiti Bandára as sustenance for so long as Heaven and Earth and Sun and Moon endure, and Gods and Buddhas exist, and the Royal Constitution prevails.

(Written) upon the command of His Majesty (*Mahávásala*) Dharmma Parákrama Báhu by Tiriwangamage Mohottála, the Writer of *Sannas*.

This *sannasa* was confirmed by His Majesty Dharmma Parákrama Báhu of Jayawardhana Kóttéi to Molagoda Dugganná Hiti Bandára who derives descent under the name of Wallamba, to be enjoyed by him, his children, grandchildren in succession without payment of taxes [named].‡

SANNASA No. 5: BOMBI-VELA.

Measurements: 15⅛ in. by 2⅛ in. On obverse ☸ within a flourished loop forming a rough circle.

SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS.

In the Saka year 1249 "*Wallabha Jayakadu Senanáeka Vijakonna Wáhala Hiti Bandára*" of "Mádampé Wáhala" having overcome the Commander of the enemy (*haturu Mudaliyá*) in single combat (*demunen yudhakara jayagena*) at Chilaw (*Salávatadi*), presented himself (*muna peyáya*) at the Kóttéi Court, and was graciously received.

(As reward), he obtained a "*derisana málayak*," eight slaves, and many "*manna samakkattu*."

(Further) on Thursday, at Puse *nekata*, the 10th day dark half of the month Unduwap, he was granted by His Majesty "*Dharmmap Prakkam Báhu*" this *sannasa*, allotting, for his maintenance and that of his descendants in perpetuity [precisely as expressed in the strong phraseology of Sannasa No. 4] the village

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(the most public and distinguished mode of acknowledging merit known in India) to Ministers in testimony of his approbation of their services." For *samakkattu*, presented both by the last King of Kandy and the British Resident, see *D'Oyly's Diary* (Codrington) pp. 66, 119, 170, 243, and Index.—B.

* Perhaps *samipaya* is meant: *samudra* is unintelligible here, except possibly as a sea-lagoon connected with the *Deduru-oya*. B

† Note the confusion as to the boundaries.—B.

‡ The text here is corrupt. Among the remitted taxes, *madi hungan*, a cattle tax, seems intended.—B.

of Bómbivela (*Bombuvila*), containing tilth, 65 *amunu* in paddy sowing extent, with appurtenant high and low land, as comprised within the boundaries [specified in detail].

Sannasa writer: *Tiriwangamage Mohottála*

SANNASA No. 6: BOMBI-VELA.

Measurements: 13⅛ in. by 1⅝ in. Side A, 5 lines; side B, 6 lines. On obverse to left, ශ්‍රී within loop, as with *Sannasa* No. 5: on reverse to left ෂ එක ඇඟතැන්කෙළේ in four lines.

SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS.

Date, Śaka 1249, and opening exactly as in *Sannasa* No. 4.

The name of the Moorish Chief (*Yon Mudaliyek*) who descended on Chilaw with a large force of Moors (*Yon gollú*) is given as "*Adirásala* of *Kúṇala Paṭṭana*" "King *Taniyalla Báhu*" and "the great King *Walla Báhu*" residing at Mádampe, with "*Mádampe Wáhala Wallabha Jayakaḍu Senanáeka Vijayaratna Vijakonná Wáhala Hiṭi Baṇḍára*" known as "*Kudá Baṇḍára*," fought the enemy face to face. "Adirásala" was stabbed to death, thirty Moors killed, their ships destroyed, and the spoil, with Adirásala's head, taken before the King (*Dharmmap Prakkam Báhu Wásalin*) at Kóṭṭé

"*Jayakaḍu Senadara*" was granted ornaments, dress, slaves, etc., (as set out in *Sannas* No. 4 and No. 5) and many other rich presents (*noyek mánna isuru sampat tanaturu*).

With the *sannasa*, he received the villages "*Bómbivela, Deṭana Uppela wat'a*, including *Kaṭugampola*" as landed property free of certain taxes (named).

Sannasa writer: *Tiriwangamage Mohaṭṭála* as in *Sannas* No. 4 and No. 5.

NOTES AND QUERIES

MARGANA

By H. W. CODRINGTON, C.C.S.

Ptolemy in his description of Ceylon mentions "Margana, a town," which he places at 123° 30′ of longitude and 10° 20′ of latitude: it was therefore between the North Cape (126° long., 12° 30′ lat.), which he locates opposite to Cape Kori or Dhanushkodi, and Cape Anarismoundou (122° long., 7° 45′ lat.).

At Sinadiyagala in the Vilachchi Vanni of Nuwaragam-palata, not far from Marichchikaddi, an inscription* of king Vasabha (A.D. 124-168, Geiger) mentions *Magana nakerika*, and at Ussayppu Kallu, about 9 miles from Marichchikaddi and near the Modaragam Oya in the Northern Province, the same name appears in a record of king Malu Tissa or Kaṇiṭṭha Tissa (A.D. 223-241, Geiger). This "Magana City"† is sufficiently near to the position of Margana to be identified with it, but the Ussayppu Kallu inscription is repeated word for word at Galkovila in Karagasvewa about 5 miles west of the 29th mile-stone on the Kurunegala-Anuradhapura road (Müller, 98).

The Ussayppu Kallu record is reproduced in "Ancient Ceylon," fig. 153, by Parker, who gives a fantastic rendering on p. 302. Apparently two localities are mentioned, "Magana City" and another which follows it and precedes the name of the first tank. If this second name or one of the two temples given later

* Copied by the Archæological Survey, but not published.
† Mr. H. C. P. Bell would translate *nakerika* "township."

on is that of the site in Kurunegala District, the occurrence of the same inscription in two places is explained, and the identification of "Magana" with Margana may stand. The use of the expression "in Magana City" in the sense of the surrounding district may be compared with "Beligal nuwara bada" in the Pepiliyana *sannasa*.

The text of the Ussayppu Kallu inscription, with a tentative translation based on similar documents in *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, is given below. For this record three copies have been employed, one Parker's, the other two kindly supplied by Mr. H. C. P. Bell to whom, when Archæological Commissioner, they had been sent by the copyists. In translating line 3 I have made the obvious amendment "catari": line 4 is read as "paca vata hiti ihata mula," "pa . ka hi ti . huti mala," and "pa va ce ta ku ta da huta ḍa la"; my amendation appears below, cf. *Ep. Zeyl.* I., 22. I am unable to explain "ta ma va ti ya"; the third and fourth *aksharas* are not settled. No ink-impressions are available and therefore the emendations are merely tentative.

USSAYPPU KALLU

(1) Siddham . Naka maha rajaha puta Maḷu Tisa ma- (2) ha raji Magana nakeriyihi Vavaḷuvimitayaha Cuḍataka vaviyi ca (3) Jabo aviyi ca Matakaraviyi* ca Talavana aviyi ca me cataki vaviy(.) (4) bojiyapati karakaḍaya Kuba viherakehi [Pava-cetahi te(la) huti mula]† ca ta ma va ti (5) ya jiṇa paṭisatiriya koṭu dini.

Hail! The great king Maḷu Tisa, son of the great king Naka, having remitted the headman's revenue of these four tanks, [to wit] Cuḍataka tank, Jabo aviya, Matakaraviya, and Talavana aviya, of (or, at) Vavaḷuvimitaya in Magana city, assigned [it as] money for oil and offerings at Kuba Vihára [and] the Para-ceta (shrine) .....and repaired the same.

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* Or, Mataka aviyi.

† For variant readings see above.

ṢRÍPURA

By H. W. CODRINGTON, C.C.S.

In Mr. Wickremasinghe's edition of the Príti-dánaka Maṇḍapa rock inscription of Nissańka Malla (*Ep. Zeyl.* II, No. 29, lines 34 ff.) the following occurs:—

> Anurádhapurayayę Śrípurayayę Śrívá(sa)pura-yayę Nissaṇkapurayayę (Ká)linga-Vijaya(pu)rayayę Mahaputupayę Ṣonayayę (Káli)ngayayę Rámes-varayayę yanádi no-ek svadeśa paradeśayehi dána-satra karavá.
>
> He built almshouses in Anurádhapura, Śrípura, Śrívásapura, Nissaṇkapura, Kálinga-Vijayapura, Mahaputupa, Ṣonaya, Kálinga, Rámeśvara, and in many other places both in this country and in other lands.

The city Śrípura also is mentioned in the story of Sudar-ṣaná daughter of king Candragupta and his queen Candra-lekhá in Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar's paper "Jaina Iconography" published in the Annual Report (Archæological Survey of India) for 1905/6:—

> "Here in Jambudvípa in the Island of Ceylon in the country of Ratnáṣaya in the town of Śrípura there flourished a king (named) Candragupta. His wife was Candralekhá. After (giving birth to) seven sons she had, by propitiating the goddess Naradattá, a daughter named Sudarṣaná."

The names are given by the translator in their Sanskrit form. The original Prakrit text has:—

> Jaṇbuddive Siṇhala-dive Rayaṇásaya-dese Siri-puranayare Caṇdragupto ráyá.

The remainder of the story deals with India and has no local interest. Can any reader supply a clue to the identity of Śrípura?

THE THUPÁRÁMA TEMPLE AT ANURÁDHAPURA

By A. M. Hocart, Archæological Commissioner

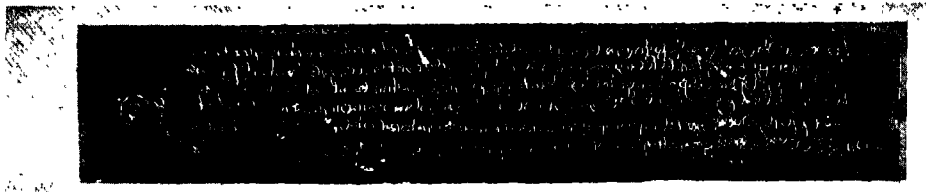
The capitals of the so-called Dáladá Máligáwa that stands near the Thupáráma puzzle everyone by their peculiar shape. Common report, endorsed by Mr. Burrows,* says they represent the relic, but at the same time no one traces in them any resemblance to a tooth. Mr. Bell in his report for 1895 (p.3) thinks they may be conventionalized lotus-buds.

I here give a photograph of one of the capitals and, by the kindness of Mr. K. N. Dikshit of the Indian Archæological Survey, am able to place beside it a very pleasing print of Bodhisattva Simhanada-Avalokitesvara.† The reader will compare the capital with the Bodhisattva's trident and draw his own conclusions.‡

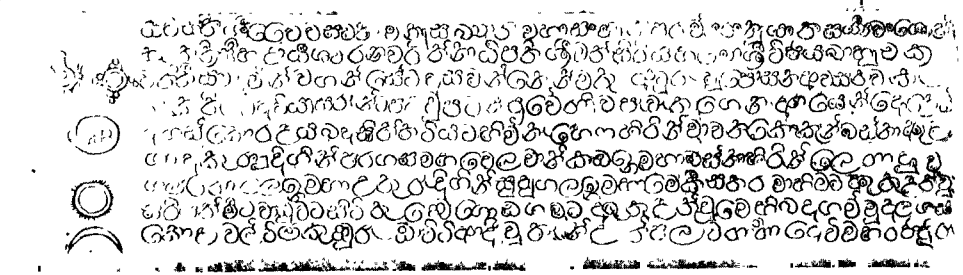
* Buried Cities, 1894, p. 37.

† K. N. Dikshit: Six Sculptures from Mahoba. Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 8.

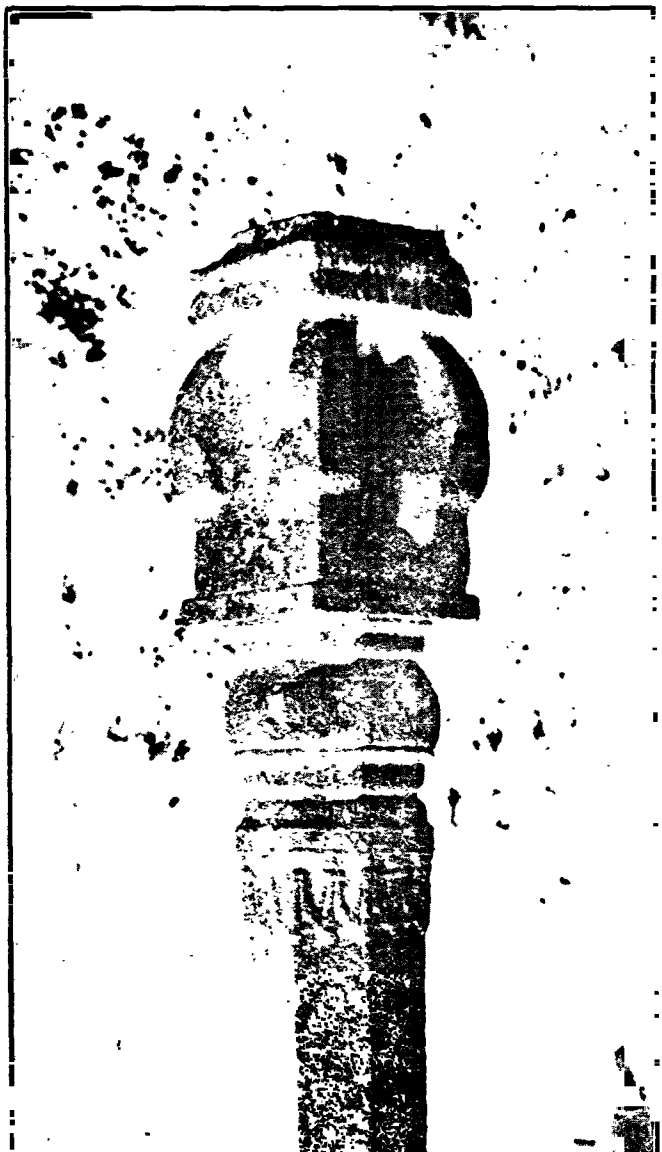
‡ This was already pointed out by Mr. E. R. Ayrton in this Journal, 1914, No. 18.



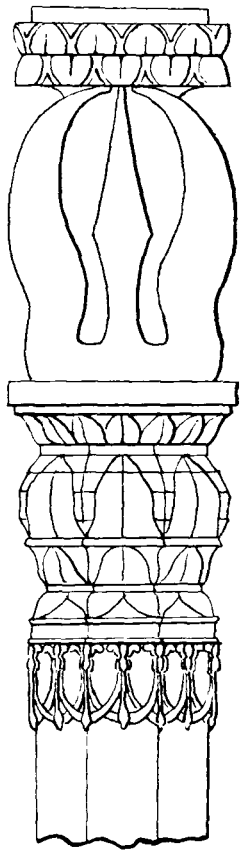
CHILAW SANNASA (No. 3): A. D. 1545.



DONDRA SANNASA: A. D. 1521.



1. CAPITAL FROM THE TOOTH-RELIC TEMPLE, ANURADHAPURA.



2 CAPITAL FROM THE TOOTH-RELIC TEMPLE AT ANURADHAPURA

Reproduced from Smither's Architectural Remains, Anuradhapura



BOHISATTVA SIMHANANDA AVALOKITESWARA.

JOURNAL

OF THE

CEYLON BRANCH

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,

1921.

VOLUME XXVIII.

No. 74.—Parts I., II., III. and IV.

PAPERS:

THE ARYAN QUESTION IN RELATION TO INDIA

ARTICLES USED IN SINHALESE CEREMONIAL DANCING

THE OVERLORDSHIP OF CEYLON IN THE THIRTEENTH, FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

NOTES AND QUERIES:

THE KANTARÓDAI FINDS

ANDREWS' EMBASSIES TO KANDY IN 1795 AND 1796

OLD DUTCH PANEL

RIGHT-HAND AND LEFT-HAND

A GIFT FROM VAN DER PARRA

The design of the Society is to institute and promote inquiries into the History, Religions, Languages, Literature, Arts, Sciences, and Social Condition of the present and former Inhabitants of the Island of Ceylon.

COLOMBO:

THE COLOMBO APOTHECARIES COMPANY, LTD., PRINTERS.

1922

CONTENTS

		PAGE
Council Meeting: February 4, 1921	..	1
Special General Meeting: February 22, 1921	..	2
Council Meeting: March 30, 1921	.	3
Annual General Meeting: June 27, 1921	..	5
Annual Report for 1920	..	5
The Aryan Question in Relation to India	..	12
Council Meeting: August 19, 1921	..	68
General Meeting: November 2, 1921	..	70
Articles Used in Sinhalese Ceremonial Dancing		71
The Overlordship of Ceylon in the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries	..	83
Notes and Queries:		
The Kantaródai Finds	..	149
Andrews' Embassies to Kandy in 1795 and 1796	..	149
Old Dutch Panel	..	150
Right-hand and Left-hand	..	151
A Gift from van der Parra	..	152

JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
CEYLON BRANCH

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, February 4, 1921.

Present:

Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., M.A., President, in the Chair.

Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., F.R.S.E., F.L.S., Vice-President.

Mr. Simon de Silva, J.P., Gate Mudaliyar.
,, W. F. Gunawardhana, Gate Mudaliyar.
,, A. M. Gunasekara, Mudaliyar.
Dr. C. A. Hévávitárana.
Mr. F. Lewis, F.L.S.
Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A. (Lond.), C.C.S. } Honorary
,, Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S. } Secretaries.

Business:

1. The minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 21st October, 1920, were read and confirmed.

2. The following gentlemen were elected members of the Society:—

(a) Atapattu Don Charles Amritaweera: recommended by	C. A. Hewavitarana. J. Moonesinghe.
(b) Mary Gladys Garle: recommended by	Joseph Pearson. Gerard A. Joseph.
(c) U. M. Aggasára. recommended by	M. Ñánissara. K. Dhammadassi.
(d) Don Alfred Jayasingha: recommended by	D. P. E. Hettiaratchi. M. S. P. Samarasingha
(e) James Peter Fernando: recommended by	Gerard A. Joseph. W. M. Fernando.
(f) K. Edward Alwis: recommended by	W. M. Fernando. M. S. P. Samarasingha
(g) Vepa Varaha Narasingham: recommended by	F. D. Jayasingha. D. B. Jayatilaka.
(h) A. M. Hocart, M.A.: recommended by	A. Nell. C. H. Collins.

3. A circular dated 23rd March, 1920, with remarks of sub-Committee on the applications for membership of certain gentlemen was tabled.

4. Mr. J. M. Senaveratne requested permission to reprint his paper on "Royalty in Ancient Ceylon" (which has been published in the Society's Journal) in a fresh publication he is issuing shortly.

It was resolved that Mr. Senaveratne be authorised to reprint his paper on "Royalty in Ancient Ceylon," but with acknowledgment as having been taken from the Society's Journal.

5. The Council was informed that Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka was writing a paper on "Parakrama Bahu II." and a letter from Dr. P. E. Pieris was read in that connection.

6. Dr. Pearson brought up the question of getting rid of obsolete books in the Library and handing over those not required to the University Library.

Resolved that Dr. Pearson and Mr. Joseph do report on the matter. Dr. Héwávitárana agreed to assist in the selection of obsolete books and those to be given to University College.

SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, February 22, 1921.

Present:

Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., M.A., President, in the Chair.

Business:

A lecture on "Indian Paintings" (with lantern slides) by Dr. Ananda K. Coomáraswámy, D.Sc., Keeper of Indian Arts, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, March 30, 1921.

Present:

Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., M.A., President, in the Chair.

Mr. W. F. Gunawardhana, Gate Mudaliyar.
Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.
Mr. E. W. Perera.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A. (Lond.), C.C.S. } Honorary
,, Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S. } Secretaries.

Business:

1. The minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 4th February, 1921, were read and confirmed.

2. The draft Annual Report for 1920 was read and approved.

3. The nomination of Office-bearers for 1921 was considered.

Mr. Joseph pointed out that under Rule 20, Dr. Pieris and Mr. Horsburgh retire by least attendance and Messrs. W. A. de Silva and F. Lewis by seniority. Two of these being eligible it was decided to re-elect Messrs. W. A. de Silva and F. Lewis.

It was decided to nominate Mr. L. J. B. Turner, M.A., C.C.S., in place of Dr. Nell and to fill the other two vacancies on the Council by appointing Messrs. D. B. Jayatilaka and Mr. A. M. Hocart. Finally nominated the following Office-bearers for 1921:—

Patron:

His Excellency Sir Wm. H. Manning.

Vice-Patron:

The Hon. Sir Graeme Thomson.

President:

Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., M.A.

Vice-Presidents:

The Hon. Sir Anton Bertram, Kt., M.A., K.C.
Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., F.R.S.E., F.L.S.
Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, J.P., I.S.O.

Council:

Mr. W. F. Gunawardhana, Gate Mudaliyar.
,, C. W. Horsfall.
,, Simon de Silva, J.P. Gate Mudaliyar.
Dr. C. A. Héwávitárana.
Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.
Mr. E. W. Perera.
Mr. A. M. Gunasékara, Mudaliyar.
,, W. A. de Silva, J.P.
,, F. Lewis, F.L.S.
,, L. J. B. Turner, M.A., C.C.S.
,, A. M. Hocart, M.A.
,, D. B. Jayatilaka, B.A.

Honorary Treasurer:

Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S.

Honorary Secretaries:

Messrs. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S. and Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S.

4. A paper on "The Aryan Question in Relation to India," by Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana, together with letter dated 27th March, 1921, was laid on the table and it was resolved that the paper be referred to a sub-Committee consisting of Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka and Dr. S. C. Paul for the favour of their opinions as to the reading and publication in the Society's Journal.

5. Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana was appointed a member of the sub-Committee to report on the obsolete books in the Library and those it is recommended to be given to the University College Library in place of Dr. Pearson.

6. The following gentlemen were elected members of the Society :—

(a) Mohan Harigovindas Kantawala, C.C.S.: recommended by { C. H. Collins. Gerard A. Joseph.

(b) Charles F. Winzer: recommended by { C. H. Collins. Gerard A. Joseph.

(c) James Peterson MacGillivray: recommended by { C. H. Collins. Gerard A. Joseph.

7. Considered date and business for the Annual General Meeting.

Resolved that this be left in the hands of Dr. Pieris, Vice-President, and the Secretaries.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, June 27, 1921.

Present:

His Excellency Sir Wm. H. Manning, Patron, in the Chair.
Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., M.A., President.
Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., F.R.S.E., F.L.S., Vice-President.
Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, J.P., I.S.O., Vice-President.

Mr. K. W. Atukorala, Muhandiram.
,, T. P. Attygalla, J.P.
,, W. E. Bastian.
The Hon. Sir J. Thomson Broom, Kt.
Mr. H. T. Cartwright.
,, J. J. Coon.
,, P. M. Aloysius Perera.
,, James de Abrew.
,, Lionel de Fonseka.
The Ven'ble F. H. de Winton.
Revd. R. Dhirálaṇkára.
Mr. S. Baron Dias.
,, Thos. Gracie.
,, H. R. Gunaratne.
,, Gabriel Gunawardhana.
,, J. J. Gunawardana.
,, W. F. Gunawardhana, Gate Mudaliyar.
Mr. D. P. E. Hettiaratchi.
Mr. A. M. Hocart.
,, D. B. Jayatilaka, B.A
,, C. H. Jolliffe.
,, S. J. C. Kadirgamar.
,, P. de S. Kularatne, B.A., B.Sc., L.L.D.
,, V. M. Mutucumaru Manivagar.
Revd. W. J. Noble.
Mr. D. Nusseruwanjee.
,, Donald Obeyesekere, M.A.
,, J. P. Obeyesékere, B.A., Mudaliyar.
Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D., F.R.C.S.
Mr. C. Rasanáyagam, Mudaliyar.
Dr. E. Roberts.
Mr. John M. Senaveratne.
,, W. T. Southorn, B.A., C.C.S.
,, F. A. Tissaverasinghe.
,, D. D. Weerasinghe, Mudaliyar.
,, S. Vythenathan, Mudaliyar.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., Hony. Secretary.

Visitors 15 ladies and 26 gentlemen.

Business:

1. The minutes of the last General Meeting held on the 14th December, 1920, were read and confirmed.

2. Mr. C. H. Collins read the Annual Report of the Council for 1920.

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1920.

The Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have the honour to submit their Report for the year 1920.

MEETINGS AND PAPERS.

The Annual General Meeting was held in June, 1920, when the Annual Report was read and a lecture was delivered by Dr. A. Nell on "Some Observations about Adam's Peak."

A General Meeting was held during the year, when the Hon'ble Sir Graeme Thomson, K.C.B., Vice-Patron of the Society, presided. Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc., exhibited a re-constructed model, plans, and photographs of the Delft Fort and a plan of Urundi Kotte and showed lantern slides and offered remarks; Mr. Gerard A. Joseph exhibited an old brick found at Mesopotamia by Mr. J. H. Titterington, J.P., U.P.M., of Bentota Group, Elpitiya, bearing an inscription, deciphered by the British Museum, showing that the brick belonged to the time of Shalmaneser III., King of Assyria, B.C. 783-773; and Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P., read a paper on "Ceremonial Songs of the Sinhalese."

PUBLICATIONS.

Journal Vol. XXVI., No. 71, Part II., was issued during the year, containing in addition to the proceedings of the meetings and Notes and Queries, the following papers:—

(1) "Ancient System of Teaching Sinhalese," by Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.

(2) "The Gal Vihare and Demala Maha Seya Paintings at Polonnaruwa," by Mr. Gerard A. Joseph.

(3) "Royalty in Ancient Ceylon," by Mr. John M. Senaveratne.

Journal Vol. XXVI., No. 71, Parts III. and IV. was also issued during the year, containing in addition to the proceedings of the meetings and Notes and Queries, the following papers:—

(1) "On the origin and the styles of Ancient Ceylon Architecture," by Dr. A. Nell.

(2) "Greeving's Diary."

(3) "Extracts relating to Ceylon from the Dag Register, Batavia, A.D. 1678-1680," by Mr. F. H. de Vos.

CHINESE REFERENCES TO CEYLON.

The Government kindly revoted the sum of Rs. 1,000 given in April, 1914, for translating the Chinese References to Ceylon, which was withdrawn during the war. Dr. Lionel Giles is engaged at present in translating the Chinese References to Ceylon from "Tao I Chih Lüeh."

MEMBERS.

The Society has now on its roll 442 members, of whom 42 are Life Members and 8 Honorary Members.

During the past year 31 new members were elected.

Muhandiram B. Chas. Cooray became a Life Member.

Deaths.

The Council record with regret the deaths of Messrs. F. H. de Vos, C. Namasivayam, J. G. C. Mendis, M.A., G. B. Leechman, Revd. L. A. Joseph and A. Simon de Silva.

Mr. de Vos was an industrious and valued member. His literary labours gave evidence of intimate acquaintance and scholarly research in the history of the Dutch Period. He always took a great interest in the affairs of the Society and papers by him included the following:—

(1) "Capture of Trincomalie."

(2) "Short History of the Principal Events that occurred in the Island of Ceylon since the arrival of the First Netherlanders in the year 1602 and afterwards from the Establishments of the Honourable Company in the same Island till the year 1757." Translated from the Dutch and revised.

(3) "Henricus van Bysterveldt's Embassy to Kandy."

(4) "Extract from De Hervormde Kerk in Nederlandsch Oost-Indie onder de Oost-Indische Campagnie (1602-1795).

(5) "A pertinent account and detailed description of the Character, Nature and Productions of Elephants in the Great Island of Ceylon."

(6) "Monumental Remains of the Dutch East India Co. in Ceylon."

(7) "Three Funerals of Ceylon Dutch Officials in the Eighteenth Century."

(8) "Mr. Isaac Augustin Rumpf."

(9) "François Caron and the French East India Company."

(10) "Note on a Dutch Medal."

(11) "Extracts relating to Ceylon from the Dag Register, Batavia, A.D. 1678-1680."

Mr. G. B. Leechman joined the Society in 1902. By his death the Island has lost one of its best informed Colonists and one who had an intimate knowledge of the people and the country.

Council

The Hon'ble Sir Graeme Thomson, K.C.B., was elected as Vice-Patron. Under Rule 18 Dr. Pieris had to retire by longest continuous service and under Rule 20 Mr. R. G. Anthonisz and Sir S. C. Obeyesekere by least attendance and Dr. A. Nell and Mudaliyar A. M. Gunasékara by seniority. Two of these being eligible for re-election, Dr. A. Nell and Mudaliyar Gunasekara were re-elected; and in place of Sir S. C. Obeyesekere and Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, Dr. P. E. Peiris and the Hon'ble Mr. B. Horsburgh were elected.

Dr. Joseph Pearson and Mr. R. G. Anthonisz were elected as Vice-Presidents.

Library

The additions to the Library, including parts of periodicals, numbered 138. The Society is indebted to the following Institutions for valuable exchanges. The Smithsonian Institute; United

States Department of Agriculture, Washington; The American Oriental Society; The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland; The Asiatic Society of Bengal; The Geological Society of London; Royal Colonial Institute, London; The Straits Branch of Royal Asiatic Society.

The Library is indebted for donations to the following:— The Government of India; The Government of Ceylon; The Government of Siam; The Pali Text Society, London; The Editors, Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register and the Director, Colombo Museum.

GENERAL

The Council desire to record their gratification at the appointment of Mr. A. M. Hocart as Archæological Commissioner, in succession to the late Mr. E. R. Ayrton, whose untimely death in 1914 brought the work of the Department practically to a standstill. Mr. Hocart received his appointment in May 1919, and spent the remainder of that year and the whole of 1920 in England and in India and assumed duties in Ceylon early in 1921. The Archæological Commission has accomplished a great deal in the past, but very much remains to be done. Mr. Hocart has already shown himself a vigorous and able Archæologist and the Council look forward to a period of activity and useful work not only in places like Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa, but in other parts of the Island, which contain much that is of great interest and importance and afford many problems which have not yet been solved.

The state of the beautiful Jetawanaráma, as it was then called, or Lankatilaka Vihára, to give it its correct name, in Polonnaruwa, gave cause for uneasiness in 1919 as its walls appeared to be about to fall. Government asked the advice of Mr. H. C. P. Bell, the retired Archæological Commissioner and as a result the work of restoration and conservation was undertaken, and much was done during 1920. Mr. Hocart on arrival took over the work and will carry it to completion.

A Historical Gazetteer for Ceylon is under preparation by Mr. C. H. Collins, Honorary Secretary of the Society and Mr. John M. Senaveratne. A good deal of the heavy preliminary work has been done, and it is hoped that it will be possible to start publication soon.

HONORARY SECRETARY.

Mr. Codrington was Honorary Secretary until September, 1920, when he retired from the office and Mr. C. H. Collins resumed duties.

FINANCES.

The annexed balance sheet discloses a balance of Rs. 630.66 to the credit of the Society. The receipts last year amounted to Rs. 3,911.95 (including the previous year's balance), and the expenditure was Rs. 3,281.29.

The balance sheet of the Chalmers' Oriental Text Fund is annexed, showing a balance of Rs. 1,419.15 to the credit of the Society.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, CEYLON BRANCH

Receipts and Payments Account for the Year Ended 31st December, 1920

RECEIPTS		Amount Rs.	Cts.	PAYMENTS		Amount Rs.	Cts.
Balance brought forward from 1919		538	51	Charges, Printing, &c.		1,557	29
Entrance Fee		147	00	Salaries		1,351	92
Sale of Publications		205	49	Books		29	58
Life Membership Commutations		50	00	Sundries :—			
Government Grant (1919-20)		500	00	Sunday allowances, etc.	Rs. 97·50		
Sundries		31	50	Postages	,, 209·00		
Annual Subscription for				Bank Charges	,, 36·00	342	50
1921	Rs. 24·75						
1920	,, 1,742·25			Balance in the Bank for 1921		630	66*
1919	,, 389·50						
1918	,, 135·25						
1917	,, 74·95						
1916	,, 41·25						
1915	,, 26·25						
1914	,, 5·25	2,439	45				
	Rs.	3,911	95		Rs.	3,911	95

* Outstanding liabilities at the end of the year, Rs 709·57

Audited and found correct.

(Sgd.) HERBERT TARRANT,
18th March, 1921.

(Sgd.) GERARD A JOSEPH,
Honorary Treasurer,
Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch.

Chalmers' Oriental Text Fund for 1920

RECEIPTS	Amount Rs	Cts.	PAYMENTS	Amount Rs.	Cts.
Balance brought forward from 1919	1,931	65	Printers, N. J. Cooray & Sons and Binder	512	50
			Balance in Bank for 1921 ..	1,419	15
Rs.	1,931	65	Rs.	1,931	65

Audited and found correct.

(Sgd) HERBERT TARRANT.

(Sgd.) GERARD A. JOSEPH,

Hony. Treasurer,

Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch.

The Council is once more indebted to Mr. H. Tarrant for auditing the Society's accounts.

The Council regret to have to record that many members do not pay their subscriptions regularly, notwithstanding the fact that frequent reminders have been sent out. The expenses of a Society, such as this, and especially the printing expenses, are naturally heavy. The Council, therefore, hope that members whose subscription are in arrears will pay them at once and so help the Society to continue its work.

CONCLUSION.

It rests with members themselves, by contributing papers of value and interest, to help the Society to develop the sphere of useful work it has done for the last 76 years.

On a motion proposed by Mr. R. G. Anthonisz and seconded by Mr. John M. Senaveratne, the Annual Report was adopted.

Under Rule 20 Dr. Pieris and Mr. Horsburgh retire by least attendance and Messrs. W. A. de Silva and F. Lewis by seniority. Two of these being eligible it was decided to re-elect Messrs. W. A. de Silva and F. Lewis.

It was decided to nominate Mr. L. J. B. Turner in place of Dr. A. Nell and to fill the other two vacancies on the Council by appointing Messrs. D. B. Jayatilaka and A. M. Hocart.

3. On a motion proposed by Mr. Donald Obeyesekere and seconded by Mr. D. Nusseruwanjee, the following Office-bearers for 1921 were elected:—

President:

Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., M.A.

Vice-Presidents:

The Hon. Sir Anton Bertram, Kt., M.A., K.C.
Dr. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc.
Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, J.P., I.S.O.

Council:

Mr. W. F. Gunawardhana, Gate Mudaliyar.
,, C. W. Horsfall
,, Simon de Silva, J.P., Gate Mudaliyar.
Dr. C. A. Héwávitárana.
,, S. C. Paul, M.D.
The Hon'ble Mr. E. W. Perera.
Mr. A. M. Gunasékara, Mudaliyar.
,, W. A. de Silva, J.P.
,, F. Lewis, F.L.S.
,, L. J. B. Turner, M.A., C.C.S.
,, A. M. Hocart, M.A.
,, D. B. Jayatilaka, B.A.

Honorary Treasurer:

Mr. Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S.

Honorary Secretaries:

Messrs. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S. and Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S.

4. Gate Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana read his paper entitled "The Aryan Question in Relation to India."

THE ARYAN QUESTION IN RELATION TO INDIA.

I. History.

Sanskrit, as the sacred language of the Hindus, had been known to European scholars for some length of time when, towards the closing years of the eighteenth century, Sir William Jones, Judge of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, a good linguist and a profound scholar, found in the course of his Indian studies that both Sanskrit and Iranian, the sacred language of the Parsis, bore such close affinities to most languages of Europe as could not be explained on any other hypothesis than that of a common origin. The announcement of the discovery electrified Europe, and such was the range of possibilities it opened to view that it almost seemed as if a new world had been discovered.

The study of Sanskrit and Iranian was at once taken up in every country of Europe and diligently pursued; and hand in hand with that study went the comparison of these two languages with such languages of Europe as bore them resemblance. This was the beginning of the science of Comparative Philology.

About forty years had passed, and much pioneer work had been done, when Bopp produced his Comparative Grammar, a monument of labour and of those wonderful results which were achieved under the new scientific impulse, results which went to prove the correctness of the hypothesis suggested by Sir William Jones, and shewed beyond a doubt that the two sacred languages of the East and such groups of European languages as the Hellenic, the Italic, the Teutonic, etc.,

are but close kin separated by time and space, and pointing in their remote origin to a common ancestry in a single linguistic stock.

Bopp was followed by other explorers in the field, and as a result of their industry, the name of a race of men who used to call themselves Aryas in a bygone age, was unearthed and resuscitated, and as the languages which had come under review owed their origin to the primitive language of these Aryas, they were grouped together and called the languages of the Aryan family.

In England, the most conspicuous scholar engaged in this new field of labour was Max Müller. With uncommon qualifications for his task he worked incessantly and laboriously: the illuminating literature emanating from his pen was voluminous; and to his writings more than to any other is due the wide dissemination of a fair idea of what is known as the Aryan Theory. This theory sought to establish:—

(*a*) The unity of Aryan nations both in Asia and Europe as indicated by the "hoary documents of language."

(*b*) Their dispersion from a common home.

(*c*) And above all the common home from which they dispersed, which came to be called in a poetic vein "The Cradle of the Aryan race."

Under head "(*a*)" it was held that the same blood runs in the veins of English soldiers as in the veins of the dark Bengalese, and that on a review of the evidence on the subject, no English jury now-a-days would reject the claim of a common descent and a legitimate relationship between Hindu, Greek, and Teuton.*

The dispersion under "*b*" becomes a self-evident proposition if the finding under "*a*" is accepted as

* Max Müller, Survey of Language, p. 29. (Quoted by Isaac Taylor.)

correct. There are Aryan speaking nations in Europe, and if language is the test, they are Aryan. The same is true with regard to Asia. The presence of these nations in two continents, and apart from one another over so wide an area, necessarily speaks to their dispersion in the past from a common home.

II. The Aryan Cradle. Theories.

Then comes the question under "*(c)*": "Where was the common home from which they dispersed?" or in other words, "Where was the Cradle of the Aryans?"

This question had been answered in anticipation in Europe when the first empirical attempt was made to account for the distribution of man on earth. In that attempt, it was conceived that mountain-tops were the first places on the earth's surface to cool down and attain the conditions necessary for the genesis and subsistence of life both animal and vegetable, and that man accordingly came into existence on these heights with the rest of organic nature, and that the species gradually spread to the plains below as these too became equally favourable by the operation of the same natural causes. The black man, it was believed, appeared on Mount Atlas in Africa. The white man was born more cosmopolitan, on ground connected with two continents, in the Caucasus range between Asia and Europe. And the yellow man, peculiar to Asia, was born in the Altai range in that continent. The Red Indian may have had his origin in any one of the mountain ranges in the New World. The assortment here proceeds upon a colour basis, and the place of origin is determined by proximity to the race.

Now, since white men had their origin in the Caucasus, and according to the Ṛg Véda the Aryans were a white race, the Aryans by this early classification, were Caucasians. The theory underlying the

classification was a floating hypothesis for which no one in particular was responsible, until it was taken up by a powerful writer, Baron Cuvier, in whose hands it underwent considerable elaboration and improvement, and by whom it was presented in such a manner that it met with the readiest and the widest acceptance, and continued down to our own day to be the theory popularly held. It had however to fall to the back-ground before the operation of the new forces which had set in in all departments of human knowledge with the dawn of the nineteenth century, when investigation and its results took the place of speculation.

The first scientific theory having direct reference to the Aryans, and emanating under the new conditions of thought, was propounded, according to an eminent Indian writer, by a scientist of the name of Pritchard, (apparently Dr. J. C. Prichard, the great naturalist). Rajendra Lala Mitra, the writer in question, says: "The first idea of a common origin of the (Aryan speaking) races is due to Dr. Pritchard, who after examining the character of a number of skulls of various races and tribes, came to the conclusion that the Circassians represented the stem, from which had branched off most of the nations of Europe, and some of Asia.*

It would seem that the theory of "Pritchard," based as it was on facts and figures derived from a comparison of skulls, received no more permanent attention than would have been accorded to an exhibition of the skulls themselves at a common fair. Evidently the value of craniology as an invaluable source of light on the early history of the human race had not yet begun to be appreciated.

But a theory not only free from all gruesome connections in its premises, but most invitingly agreeable and pleasant to contemplate, was soon forthcoming.

* *Indo-Aryans*, London, 1881, Vol. II., p. 428.

This was to the effect that the first home of the Aryans was to be looked for in that part of Central Asia which lies to the South of the sea of Aral, and was probably Bactria. This theory was started by Rhode, who based it on a statement in the sacred writings of the Iranians (the ancestors of our Parsis) that their god (Ahuro Mazdao), after creating the world, sowed the Aryan seed in a particular country which answers to the region identified. If the seed was sown here, then it follows that Central Asia was the home of origin of the race—the nursery where it had its early existence; it would also follow that from this centre the race began to expand and spread as it increased and multiplied. The idea is that as the increase continued, horde after horde left this home at different intervals and migrated, some westward where Erin (Aryana) marks the limit of their advance in that direction, and some southward into Iran (Aryana, again), from whence a branch went eastward into India. The theory, attractive in itself, and rendered still more beautiful by a realistic picture of the simple life of this primitive people, met with a hearty welcome and was sponsored and supported by all the great orientalists of the day, not the least of whom was Max Müller, through whose presentation in language of irresistible charm, it became most popular and is even at the present day the one generally known.

For quite a generation or more, the Aryan Theory as thus enunciated, was regarded as a settled fact of science. But when the echoes of popular applause had fairly subsided, and people had had time to look into the matter more closely, sceptics began to arise. The first and the boldest of these was Latham, who, not deterred by the array of great names on the side of the theory, pointed out that there was quite a number of Aryan nations in Europe with great diversity among them, showing that they were distinct groups which had

long separated, while in Asia there were only two Aryan nations, in Iran and India respectively, which had separated among themselves but recently and formed but a single group; and he argued that on probability the single group must be taken to have broken away from the greater number than *vice versa*, and that as the greater number is in Europe, the separation of the groups must be presumed to have taken place there, that is to say the Cradle of the Aryan race must be placed in Europe. He suggested, it would seem, no particular place for the seat of this Cradle, though his theory was broad enough to admit of its being anywhere in Sarmatia,* a broad belt of country extending all the way from the south-eastern slopes of the Ural range on the east of Europe to the shores of the Baltic on the west. Such was the view he advanced. But the theory already in favour had gained such a hold on the popular mind that Latham, though a great scholar himself and a leading philologist, was given no hearing; he was even considered presumptuous and ridiculed.

Latham's protest, however, had not been raised in vain. It had broken the spell, and other investigators now followed bringing an independent judgment to bear on the subject. From examples within the ken of modern history, these investigators found that the documents of language, however hoary, are no good evidence of unity of race, since the members of one race (*e.g.*, the Negroes of the West Indies) might, from political or other causes, adopt the language of a widely different race (*e.g.*, the English) without any racial affinity between them.

This argument was fatal to the Aryan Theory as advanced. It by no means denied that the fair Englishman may after all be the blood relation of the dark

* *Huxley, in the Nineteenth Century*, Nov. 1890, p. 752.

Bengali Babu; but it went to show that their kinship had to be established on other evidence, and that speech was no good voucher for it. Even Max Müller, the chief exponent of the theory, felt the force of this argument and thenceforward practically ceased to speak of the Aryan race and confined himself to the Aryan family of languages.

The accepted theory having thus been successfully assailed, other theories based on a wider range of evidence, drawn not only from Philology but from such sciences as Geology, Prehistoric Archæology, Ethnology, etc.—sciences which too, like the science of Comparative Philology, were of recent growth, now began to be put forward. Of these new theories some claimed different parts of Europe for the seat of the Aryan Cradle; some still adhered to Asia. In Europe again, some would place the Cradle on the shores of the Baltic, the Germans in Middle Germany, and the French in France; in Asia, Cashmere was suggested by some. Standing midway between these rival claims, the old Caucasian theory now represented the golden mean.

III. Who were The Aryans?

In the controversy provoked by these conflicting claims, the Aryan Family of languages was recognized by all parties under that name, though the Germans would prefer the term Indo-German, and the French Indo-European. It was established that these languages are spoken by peoples of different races or admixtures of different races both in Europe and Asia. On this account, the term "Aryans" as denoting peoples coming within a certain linguistic classification was freely allowed, but opinion wavered with regard to the scientific accuracy of the term Aryans as denoting a race. One scholar, Oppert, even denied that there is any Aryan race at all. Max Müller, who is entitled to our

lasting veneration for his services in the cause of linguistic science, made a curious *volte face*. He in his later utterances had contracted the meaning of the term Aryans to a purely linguistic connection, and when the world at large, his own disciples of old, still understood and used it in an ethnic sense as well, he roundly denounced as theft this misappropriation of a term which, he claimed, had been invented by philologists solely for the purposes of linguistic science.* He passingly admitted that he had himself been occasionally a sinner in this respect,† that being due, he pleaded, to evil communications. He had evidently forgotten that he it was who had started the talk about the English soldier and the dark Bengalese and the community of blood in their veins. However, the teachings of Max Müller, such as could not be easily overthrown, were now too firmly established to be shaken even by himself, and the word Aryan has passed into current use as a scientific term with two aspects of meaning, one philological, one ethnological. Thus we have:—

Aryas (sing. Arya), a particular race of men.

Aryan (1) pertaining to the race of Aryas.
(2) a member of the race of Aryas.
(3) the language of the Aryas.

Aryans, the race of Aryas.

Aryan Languages—languages derived from the primitive language of the Aryas.

Such being the case, it would be about as correct to call all those peoples Aryan which speak Aryan languages at the present day, as to call all those peoples Roman which speak the various forms of speech known as Romance. It is plain that Aryan speech though now spread among ever so many races, must originally have

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* *Biographies of Words*, London, 1888, p. 120.

† Ibid, p. 245.

been the language of a single tribe representing a single ethnic stock. It is pointed out *per contra* that Latin and English had their growth among heterogeneous communities, and that Sanskrit may have grown likewise. Even if the supposition be allowed, it would not affect the existence of the primitive stock round which the accretions formed. However various may have been the contributions made towards the development of the language of Latium, its basic element, the language of Romulus, or of the actual founder of Rome whoever he was, was undoubtedly Aryan. However numerous the contributions towards the formation of the English language, its basic element is Teutonic. Similarly, if Sanskrit was a composite language, its basic element would be Aryan. But unlike Latin and English, Sanskrit is a primitive language, which denotes that it had its origin not in a complex community, but in a community free from external mixture and representing a single racial unit. That racial unit is what constitutes the primitive Aryan race.

IV. Physical Characteristics of The Aryans.

As a distinct race, the Aryans had physical characteristics differentiating them from other races, in addition to the possession of a language all their own. These physical characteristics had mainly to do with the complexion, the shape of the head, the shape and extent of prominence of the nose, the colour of the hair and of the eyes, the facial angle, the length of the limbs, the stature, etc. Among these again, the shape of the head, being a most persistent characteristic of type, constituted a leading determinant.

Now, Aryan is spoken over a vast extent of country both in Asia and Europe by people of obviously different races and of mixtures of different races. By the shape of the head, the principal anthropic divisions speaking

these languages resolve themselves, first by way of a rough classification, into three:—

(*a*) Dolichocephalous or the long-headed, where the length of the head, measured from front to back, is greater than its breadth measured from side to side.

(*b*) Orthocephalous, or as we might say, the round-headed, where the length and breadth of the head are about equal.

(*c*) Brachycephalous or the broad-headed, where the breadth of the head exceeds the length.

By various grades of mixture of these three main cephalic types, there are innumerable varieties of intermediate types. The shape of the head, however, is only one factor in determining race; it is not all; other parts of the body have to be taken into account. When so judged, there are two long-headed races in Europe distinctly apart from one another, one being marked, among other things, by tall stature, one by short. In the same way, the broad heads also show two different types with their stature equally in contrast. The round heads, on the other hand, are of all statures within the same group, without any sharp line of demarcation between one section and another in other ways. From the observation of these facts, the following deductions have been made: First, that the round-headed peoples of Europe, such as the English and the French, are secondary races, produced by the intermixture of primary races, whose physical and intellectual qualities have combined and acquired greater vigour in the new types under a natural law of selection which always shews better results in a wider field. Second, that there are in Europe representatives of four primary races as follows:—

1. Long heads with tall stature, *e.g.*, the Swedes.
2. Long heads with short stature, *e.g.*, the Spanish Basques.

3. Broad heads with tall stature, *e.g.*, the Danes.

4. Broad heads with short stature, *e.g.*, the Swiss.

Being primary races, these are of course the oldest inhabitants of the land, and whether the first speakers of Aryan were indigenous to the soil or came from elsewhere, it is plain that they must be sought for among these. They could not have been of all the four races at the earliest stage; conceivably the language was originated or brought in by one of the four, and it spread to the others by causes similar to those which have operated in modern times in other parts of the world, and even in Europe, producing similar results. The existence of these four primary types can be traced back in Europe to the neolithic age, the nearest to us of the great ages of the remoter past of the world, thereby leading us to believe that whichever of them first spoke Aryan and imposed it on others, used it not as a borrowed speech, but as its own native tongue, or in other words, those first speakers of Aryan in the West were genuine Aryans themselves, members of the true stock.

From sufficient scientific data, it is found that the two races of short stature, which are known respectively as the Ligurians and Iberians, are too feeble to have imposed their language on others, and they could not certainly have constituted the Aryans in Europe. These two races being thus eliminated from the inquiry, the other two remain, and one fact now comes prominently into view, viz., that the Aryans in Europe were a people of tall stature. The question remaining to be decided is: "Were they long-headed Scandinavians or broad-headed Celts?"

European scholars have attempted to answer this question on different premises and arrived at opposite conclusions. One school maintains that the Aryans, admittedly tall, were long-headed, and are best represented at the present day by the Swedes. Another

school contends that they were broad-headed, and are best represented by the Lithuanians. Those who contend for the long-heads, the German school, leave Asia out of the account, because, say they, the Iranian branch of the Aryas got mixed with the Semites, and the Indian branch with the Dravidians, and there are no representatives of the pure Aryan type now in the East. Those who contend for the broad heads, the French school, on the other hand, cite Iranians and Hindus and their culture in illustration of the intellectual superiority of the Aryans; and as the more intellectual sections of the population in Europe are not the descendants of the tall, long-headed conquerors now represented by the nobility, but members of the class immediately below in stature and status, to whom nevertheless all enlightenment and uplift are due, and as this class is broad-headed, they claim that these are the Aryans, and maintain that the Aryans were a broad-headed race.

Each side, it would seem, hugs a fallacy. The apologists of the broad head are singularly unfortunate in the illustrations from Asia on which they rely. The Iranians, as represented by the Parsis to-day, are not by any means a broad-headed race; on the contrary they are pronouncedly long-headed. So are the Hindus of the best representative class.* If these are Aryans, as is implied in the premises, then it follows that the Aryans were a long-headed race, and that the broad-headed builders of European greatness are the descendants of non-Aryan autochthones. Thus the illustration defeats the argument it is adduced to support, and proves the case for the other side. That side, on the other hand—the German school standing up for the long-heads—seems, curiously enough, to place more reliance

* *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, new edition, Vol. I., pp. 293-297.

on speculation than on concrete evidence available in the East. It is true that the Aryan horde, or the two hordes, which found their way into India, got merged for the most part in the native population ethnically; but it is equally true that ethically they always remained a class apart. This was notably the case with the most privileged class, the Brahmans, with whom purity of blood and strict observance of rules of conduct became a most valuable possession as being the patent of their privileges; and among them to-day, in North-Western India, families are not rare which have successfully preserved their exclusive character both ethically and ethnically. That they are found in pristine purity cannot be asserted, because that cannot be proved, any more than a similar claim can be proved with the force of a logical conclusion in favour of any European race. But this much is clear: these rigid conservatives are undoubted descendants of the men who built the religious and the social system which these so jealously guard and which maintains their position in society. Those men brought with them into India the Aryan speech in the oldest and the purest form in which we find it, and they were the true typical Aryans, since it is from them that science got the name for the whole family. Their descendants of the present day, the above conservatives, preserve the best traditions of the race as handed down from father to son in an unbroken series: and as possessing descent, language, and traditions, these men have the best title *prima facie* to be regarded as true representatives of the race. To say that these men are a mixture with no outstanding characteristics of the racial type, could only be possible if we had a norm with which we could compare them and shew wherein they materially differed from the norm. But our quest is for the norm itself; and therefore to assume a difference before we have found it, is to beg the question, and that

is what the German school have been guilty of to their detriment.

As a matter of fact, the Brahmans and others of the exclusive type referred to above shew that they are representatives of a distinct race in India, a race quite different from the autochthonous population. What is their race unless it be that to which their history, embedded in a sacred literature coming down from the remotest antiquity, assigns them? That history shows them as Aryans, and therefore we have in India men who are well attested representatives of the Aryan race —undoubted scions of the true stock. These men should be the norm in the search for Aryans elsewhere.

By the new science of Anthropometry it has been found that these Indo-Aryans are a long-headed race. They are of fair complexion and of tall stature. Perhaps in this latter respect, they fall short of a Swede ordinarily, and in colour they may be less striking by many shades. But scientists say that these are mutable characteristics influenced by climate, environment, and conditions of life. It is a fact within our own observation that Europeans, after a stay of several years in the tropical East, get to be sallow, and on their going home on a holiday of some duration, they return with their complexion restored to a bright white with a rosy tint. Such being the case, we can easily conceive what would happen if an Indo-Aryan were to go west, and a Swede east, and the twain meeting half-way, say in Caucasia, were to spend there some years together. The Indian would gain some shades in colour towards improved fairness, while the Swede would lose in the same degree, and the process of change would only cease when both the Indian and the Swede come to be of the same complexion as the children of the soil, the Caucasians. Now the Caucasians, not the new-comers, but the true sons of the soil such as the Albanians, are a fair-skinned,

long-headed people, and in features they present but little difference on one side from the Swedes and on the other from the Indo-Aryans. So that if the Swede and Indo-Aryan referred to were to remain in Caucasia for a sufficient length of time, they would present to all intents and purposes the appearance of members of the same family, and with Caucasians appear as scions of the same stock. We have seen that the Indian member of this group is Aryan, from which it follows that the Indo-Aryans, the Caucasians, and the Swedes are alike members of the same Aryan family, and that their race is dolichocephalous, and in its normal state, fair-complexioned.

Nor is the East entirely wanting in full representatives of this normal description even at the present day. We shall quote only one author: Prichard, in his "Natural History of Man" (Fourth Edition), says:—

(*a*) The Cashmirians are as fair as the Southern Europeans. Vol. I., p. 167.

(*b*) But the Sia-Posh, or the race of Kabirs, who inhabit the high region of Kohistan, and the country on the Hindu-Kush, called from them Kafiristan, afford the most striking and curious instance of a branch of the Hindu race settled for many centuries in a cold country, and existing under circumstances extremely different from those which surround the natives of Hindustan. The SiaPosh, as it has been proved by Professor Ritter and the celebrated linguist Bopp, from the vocabularies obtained of their language, speak a dialect of the Sanskrit. They are undoubtedly a branch of the Indian race. They worship Mahadeo, but know nothing of the other Hindu gods, and have customs of their own.

According to the information obtained by the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone and Sir Alexander Burns, the Sia-Posh are people of exquisite beauty, with arched eyebrows and fair complexions. A native of their country seen by Burns at Kabul was a remarkably handsome young man, tall, with regular Grecian features, blue eyes, and fair complexion. A few other individuals of the same race who had been seen by Europeans had similar physical characters. Vol. I., p. 168.

(*c*) The sources of the sacred rivers, the Ganges and Jumna, are well-known to be places of attraction. In the neighbourhood of Jumnotri and Gangotri, situated at their fountains, the Hindus as we are assured by Mr. Fraser, are very fair, have often blue eyes, and hair and beards curled, and of an auburn or red colour. Vol. I., p. 169.

(*d*) The Rajputs in the North-western provinces of India, are described by Major Tod, and all other writers, as of tall stature, stout and well-formed persons, with fine features, hooked noses, arched eyebrows, and fair complexion. The natives of Kathiawar in the North of India, as we are well assured by a writer who has fully and accurately described them, have frequently light hair and blue eyes. Vol. I., p. 166.

These extracts afford a fair view of the case. The following caps their significance:—

(*e*) "The aboriginal mountaineers of the Himalaya were foreign to the Indian race; but it would seem that an offshoot of the same stock" (*i.e.*, of the Indian race) "was very early

planted in the heights of the Hindu-Cush, or Indian Caucasus, and on the border of the cold and lofty region of Pamer, where they have dwelt unknown from remote times, designated as Kafirs by surrounding Mohamedans. They retain very few vestiges of their Indian origin, except their Sanskrit speech; while in their sanguine complexion and xanthous hair they resemble the fairest of the Danes or Swedes." Vol. I., pp. 161-2.

Here then we find the Indo-Aryan as he appeared before he sought the summer plains of India. Turning now to Caucasia, we find the following piece of evidence from an old author. Lempriere (Classical Dictionary, eleventh edition, London, 1820), says: "Albania, a country of Asia, between the Caspian Sea and Iberia. The inhabitants are said to have their eyes all blue." Now, blue eyes, as is well-known, are inseparable from tall stature, white complexion and xanthous hair; and the name of Albania itself seems to suggest that the country was the home of a white population. The language of the Albanians is Aryan.*

Thus we find men presenting the physical characteristics of a single race in the East in North-western India and in the regions still northward; in the West in Scandinavia and in Denmark; and midway in Caucasia. The language of all these peoples, so far separated and with absolutely no historical connection between them, is Aryan. What is the inevitable conclusion? The answer is plain: these peoples represent the Aryan still in continuance, little affected by external mixtures. Oppert was not correct when he denied the existence of an Aryan race, even if he intended the remark to be limited to present times. Here is the race,

* Max Müller, "Science of Language" new edition, London, 1882. Vol. I., p. 228.

demanding recognition both physically and linguistically: physically tall, fair, blue-eyed, and golden-haired; linguistically in possession of forms of speech allied to that polished and stately language, the Sanskrit.

V. The Earliest Traceable Home of The Aryans.

We have now to give some thought to the vexed question: "Where was the original seat of this race—the Cradle of the Aryans?" We have to start with due note of the fact that man's age on earth is very great, and that in the infancy of his race, as well as throughout its adolescence, he was no better than the beast of prey, and like the beast of prey lived on the flesh of other animals, the diet being not seldom varied in some countries south of the equator, by delicacies derived from the flesh of his own kind. In the neolithic age, man in Europe still subsisted by the chase, and the conditions of life this imposed necessarily kept him a nomad. When game was exhausted, or animals had been scared away from their habitat, a community had to move on to the next promising stage, and there abide till such time as circumstances demanded a fresh move forward. In the same way, other communities were following, one taking up the place which had been quitted by another time enough earlier for redintegration of normal conditions.

Gradually men discovered the uses of animals which could be domesticated, and the pastoral stage of existence was then reached. But nomadic life still continued, since cattle required fresh fields and pastures new, and their owners had often to be on the move to provide these. Later on, the use of cereals was discovered, and this led to habits of fixed life since cereals could not be raised on the move. Agriculture now became the staple industry, while cattle-keeping became its important auxiliary, and hunting, now no longer a

necessity, occasionally came in as a profitable and congenial relaxation.

We can easily conceive that men in the third or fourth generation after reaching the agricultural stage, could know little or nothing of the history of their race beyond a few traditions and the fact that their forefathers had come from such and such a place, meaning their last starting point in their nomadic life. This is hypothetically true of all nations of the earth, and is known to be historically true of most, the hunt for better conditions of life having continued even after the chase as a means of subsistence had ceased: almost every nation with a history, now appearing as children of the soil in any country, originally came from somewhere else. In view of this great fact, the question of the original seat of a race becomes something like the search for the first link of an endless chain albeit it be now at rest. Nevertheless it becomes a legitimate question to inquire what is the earliest home to which any given section of the human race can be traced, and it is in this sense that the question of the Cradle of the Aryan race acquires a tangible and definite meaning.

We have already seen the diversity of views with regard to the seat of this Cradle. Max Müller's last pronouncement was that if pressed for an answer, he would still say it was "Somewhere in Asia." This is wide enough to carry our thoughts even as far as Caucasia, the place arising from the first European theory. On the other side of the question, Latham's hypothesis suggested Sarmatia, and Sarmatia too ends on the east in Caucasia. The main basis of Latham's argument was that the Aryan languages of Europe formed six groups which may be compared to six links of a circular chain, of which each link is exactly in the position where it should be in relation to its neighbours in a certain scientific order, but that the chain is not closed, there being a gap

between the first and the last links, to wit, the Slavonic and the Hellenic groups, and it is found that Indo-Iranian, or the language of which Sanskrit and Iranian are twin dialects, exactly fits into this vacant place. Hence the argument that the European Aryans could not have migrated westward from Asia in groups retaining their relative geographical positions exactly the same, but that the probability is the other way, viz.: the Asiatic Aryans, who formed but one group, went eastward on separation from the parent stock.

Now Slavonic, to which Russian belongs, is a North European language-group, and the Hellenic a South European; and in the case of a circular chain, the gap between the two will be geographically in the region of the Caucasus. We know that Indo-Iranian represents the oldest aspect of the Aryan speech which has come down to us, and since this is the link at the gap, it follows that the oldest aspect of the Aryan speech before the final separation, was preserved in the Caucasus. In other words, Caucasia was the seat of the home-stock of the Aryan race before the final separation. Even Max Müller, who practically gives the circular chain and the gap, though in a different form, says that "we find it difficult to resist the conviction that some half-way point from which the North-Western and South-Eastern tribes could have diverged may mark the original home of the Aryans."* If by North-West is here meant the direction of Scandinavia and Denmark, and by South-East the direction of Iran and India, it need scarcely be pointed out that the half-way point between them will be about Caucasia.

But modern investigation is not alone in supporting the theory of the Caucasian home. If a myth is a nucleus of truth round which accretions of imagination

* *Biographies of Words*, London, 1888, p. 92.

have formed and crystallized, then the evidence of Hindu mythology equally points to Caucasia as the home in quest. Indo-Aryan tradition, greatly extended with religious speculation, dressed up in metaphor, embellished with fanciful ornamentation, and thus handed down as mythology, represents the archetypes of the four classes of Hindu society as having sprung from the body of the Primeval Male who was Brahma himself in his creative capacity. The story is found both in the Ṛg Vëda, the oldest sacred book of the Hindus, and in the Puranas, which are books of secondary authority to the Vëdas, but are equally canonical; and if we examine the story as given in these sacred writings, we find the Primeval Male, standing in later interpretation for the Universe, presenting the following appearance:—

> "The hairs of his body are trees and plants, of his head the clouds, of his beard lightning, and his nails are rocks" (scil. slabs of rock)*

We also read that his veins are rivers, and his bones are mountains. It is plain that the original conception involved in the idea of this Male is that of a mountain range vast and tall, on the top of which clouds rested and lightning used to play; and since the Indo-Aryans originated from his body, this range was the place where that branch of the race had its origin, as far as its traditions reached back. We have already seen this branch as the custodians of the oldest aspect of the language. That fact now becomes very important as cumulative evidence in the case, shewing that this branch represents the home-stock of the race—that part of the parent stock which kept longest to the soil.

The early Aryans, the Indo-Aryans at any rate, were in the habit of investing every great object of nature which inspired them with awe, wonder, or admiration, with a spirit which formed its genius, and

* *Bhágavata Purána* (Quoted by Kennedy and others).

which went under the same appellation as the object itself, the appellation being thus used indifferently, in the concrete for the object, in the abstract for the genius. Thus Súrya (Sun) would be either the luminary, or its presiding divinity; Candra (Moon) the same. Later, in India, the Himalayas, a chain of mountains physically, were spiritually a god: and the river Sarasvatí was similarly the goddess of speech. It is said that the Nerbada, another river, is worshipped as a holy goddess even at the present day.

If then the Primeval Male, spiritually Brahma, was in his physical representation a mountain range, we now know what range comes into the gap indicated by other evidence; and nothing surprised, we come back again to Caucasia, this time to find the creative Brahma in the Caucasus range. All roads led to Imperial Rome; all lines of thought in our present investigation lead to Caucasia. And once we have made this identification of Brahma with the Caucasus, not only do we fix the early starting point of the Indo-Aryans, and indirectly also the Aryan Cradle as far as it can be traced back, but we also find a great many of the other traditions of the Indian branch of the race relative to the limited world of its infancy and youth and now crystallized into mythology, beginning to be diaphanous and to show a meaning inside. Thus Kasyapa, one of the higher progeny of Brahma, and his principal assistant in the work of creation, becomes at once identifiable with the Caspian Sea, in the name of which we hear a still good echo of the name of Kasyapa, who thus physically represented, stands close enough to his progenitor, and still derives part of his visible substance from him through more than one large river and many a minor stream. Another subsidiary creator was Daksha, "the right" (from which we get "dakshina" the righthand side, the face being always to the rising sun). This Daksha was produced from the

right thumb of Brahma, and if Brahma was the grand spirit of the Caucasus, enthroned with his face to the east, Daksha would be the presiding genius of the south in that part of Western Asia which would lie to the east of a line drawn from the Caucasus southward, say from its highest peak mount Elburz. In other words, Daksha in the concrete would be the south in the view of Indo-Aryans in this part of Western Asia. That would also suggest to us the route of advance of this branch of the Aryans into Iran. Evidently they came from the North relatively to this part of the country, that is to say from the country lying to the east of the river Ural, which they had reached by travelling eastward from Caucasia. Now, Daksha had a numerous family of daughters; evidently each country of this south was one of his daughters, while the abstract idea pervading and presiding over the whole represented himself as the paterfamilias, like an emperor presiding over a confederacy of nations, all separate, but forming together one empire of which he is the visible representative. As his local identity came to be lost, Daksha underwent great expansion and had other daughters too, some even in heaven. We however are concerned only with his daughters on earth. A good array of these maidens, thirteen in number, became the wives of Kasyapa, and by them he had an extensive progeny, answering practically to the whole of the living creation in this part of the world. It is plain that the vast body of water represented by the Caspian Sea impressed with its magnificent grandeur the imagination of the Aryans, as the dominating factor in the whole of the region stretching from the Caucasus eastward, and that by a bold flight of the poetic fancy which they seem early to have developed, their bards converted this dominating factor into a bridegroom and the dominated countries into his brides.

VI. The Asuras Properly so Called.

Two of these spouses of Kasyapa claim our particular attention, viz.: Dity and Aditi. By Diti Kasyapa was the progenitor of the Asuras, known metronymically as Daityas; and by Aditi, he was the father of the Sun, known metronymically as Aditya. These Asuras have given us a name which fills the largest place everywhere in the early history of India, and which has led to much confusion by the vicissitudes of its chequered career attended with corresponding changes of significance. At present the idea suggested by the name to the imagination belongs to the same order of things as gives character to the significance of the names of Cyclops, Centaurs, demons, etc., that we read of in myth, fable, or nursery tale, but think no more of associating with real beings than Oberon and Titania or their fairy train. Yet Asuras were not always so. The scholium on an aphorism of Pánini (V. iii., 117) tells us that the Asuras were a race of professional soldiers, and in this connection they are mentioned in close association with the Persians. Apparently both were deteriorated remnants of a great national past, and looking abroad in this light, we recall to mind the fact that in the third millenium B.C. the Assyrians were the great nation in Western Asia and the leading nation in the world. Assyria is spoken of in the Bible, and its greatness glowingly described by the prophet Ezekiel; but much of our knowledge of the country and of its position of eminence is derived from Greek sources, and we know that the word we read as Assyria in the Roman Character will, if turned back into Greek script, stand as Assuria (of which the "u" or the Upsilon is transliterated into Modern European languages by "y," thus leading to Assyria). In Assuria again, the part "ia" is a suffix intended to denote country, and the substantive part of the word thus

reveals itself as Assur, which brings us to the Semitic Asshur, the name first of the god of the Assyrians, next of their city sacred to the god, and lastly of the Assyrian nation. The Assyrians were thus Assurs, or phonetically Asurs: and Asurs will neatly turn out in Sanskrit as Asuras, the "r" being strengthened with a vowel for phonetic reasons. We shall have occasion to revert to this subject at a later stage. Now, as the mother of these Asuras, Diti would thus be Assyria, the westernmost of the daughters of Daksa. From her position in direction, we can now understand how her sister, the mother of the Sun, was called Aditi; for Aditi means the opposite of Diti (the "a" at the commencement being the prefix of negation, thence of antithesis), and if Diti was the westernmost sister, it follows that Aditi will be the easternmost, and will be necessarily the mother of the Sun whose rise is from the east.

The Assyrians, or as they should be more correctly called, the Asuras, had inherited and developed the great civilization and culture (great for that period of the world) of the Shumiro-Accads or Sumerians, the builders of the first Babylonian empire; and it is certain that proximity to this great nation gave to the Aryans who had spread on the plains to the east and south of the Caspian Sea, the first chance of coming in contact with civilized life. It is equally certain that the Aryans profited by their opportunities.

VII. The Aryans on the Caspian Plains.

All men in a primitive state of existence are swayed by animistic ideas, and these Aryans were no exception to the rule. To them all great objects of nature, as we have already seen, and all great manifestations of the powers of nature, were instinct with spirit, and the most conspicuous of these received their adoration as divinities.

Such were the sky (Varuna or Ouranos), the sun (Mitra), the winds (Maruts), fire (Agni), Indra (the god of thunder, or Jupiter), etc. Thunder leads us to rain, and Indra as the giver of rain, was the most favourite god of the Aryans, who, with their principal wealth, cattle, depended for prosperity on the refreshing showers which revived the earth and gave it fertility and clothed its meadows with green pasture; and so closely was he associated with their individual and collective life as a friend in weal and woe, that he became a sort of personification of their national spirit, thence their presiding genius, and lastly their god of war. The friendship of Indra and the other gods was cultivated and maintained for the sake of favours, such as victory over foes, comfort and plenty, and many children; and hymns of praise were addressed to them for favours received in the past and expected in the future. As yet there was no idea of a Supreme Being, and each one of the divinities worshipped, taken by himself, was considered as supreme in his own sphere, which was little different from the sphere of others; hence each divinity was addressed very much in the same terms and attributed the same high qualities of supremacy in turn. One of these terms of address was the name for god which the Aryans had learned from the Assyrians. With the Assyrians their national god was Asshur, the giver of victory, whose power was endless. Asshur was so great that his name passed to the Aryans as the highest title for the divinity, and in praising their own gods, they addressed them in this exalted term, which they used as Asura. Dr. A. B. Keith, Regius Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in the University of Edinburgh, contests the view that Asura is from Asshur or *vice versa*, and he gives two grounds for his contention. He says (1) that there is no identity of character between the two conceptions; (2) that the similarity of

names is far from close.* If this objection had come from a less eminent scholar, perhaps our surprise need not have been so great as it is. The objection cuts at the very root of the science of Philology, which would have had no reason for existence but for the changes that words undergo in passing from one language to another, and sometimes within the same language, which changes, whether in respect of form or of meaning, it is the function of Philology to note and explain in tracing the life-history of words and thereby throwing light on the history of the development and early progress of human thought. That being so, the obvious implication made by the eminent Doctor that two words to be connected as derivative and source should be identical in conception and close in similarity, is difficult to understand. However, we shall take his objection at its face value, and see how far it is sustainable on the merits. That there is no identity of character in the conceptions of Asshur and Asura, may be allowed if Asura always meant a Titan as it does to-day. But that meaning is only a later philological development brought about by the circumstances of the history of the Aryans in India. In the earliest literature of the Aryans as handed down in the Védas, Asura appears as a term of the profoundest respect for the diety, used in humble supplication and praise. There would therefore seem to be very much identity of character between the conception of Asshur and that of Asura taken at the start; and with respect to the similarity of the two names, it must be said that it certainly seems to be far more close than is sometimes the case with an original word and its derivative. Compare for instance such a simple word as the English "slave" with its original "sklave," marking the dis-

* *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, p. 88. For view criticised, see Dr. F. W. Thomas, journal, Royal Asiatic Society, 1916, p. 364.

tance between them both as names and as embodiments of conceptions at opposite poles. The city of Asshur which still survives in ruins and is now called Nimrud,* was known to Arabic geographers as Athur, in which, of course, we recognize the original name Asshur under a certain degree of variation. Dio Cassius writes the name of Assyria as Atyria, and observes that the barbarians had changed the Sigma into Tau.† With the change re-adjusted, and the Upsilon shewn by the "y" restored, the correct spelling of the name becomes Asuria for the country, and it follows that the name for the city would be Asur. We also have it that Assyria is called in the inscriptions of Darius Athurâ,‡ another barbarian change, this time of Sigma into Theta. The change being re-adjusted, the name becomes Asurâ, in which we recognize the analogue of the Sanskrit Asuras= Asurah, which would mean either the country or the nation. Thus we find that the Asuras were originally the highly advanced nation known to us of the present day as the Assyrians, and we come back to our point of start that the Assyrian Asshur was adopted by the Aryans as Asura.

We have already seen the Aryans profiting by their proximity to this great nation and getting in the way of civilization and culture. Apparently they were growing in numbers too when, with more practical outlook on life, they saw that the arid plains of the Caspian were no place to hold them all and all their bovine wealth, and that they required expansion. Their way was barred in several directions, but feeling along the line of least resistance, some of them expanded westward where we see the impress of their culture in

* Confer Max Müller *Science of Language*, new edition, 1882, vol. I., p. 286.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

Northern Mesopotamia, as attested by the Mitanian tablets.* In the document constituted by those tablets, the king of Mitani enters into a treaty with the Hititte king of Cappadocia, and invokes some Védic gods to witness his good faith, thus showing that the document is Aryan. But it is not Aryan alone; it is written in cuneiform characters, the script of Assyria, which shews direct indebtedness of the Aryan culture of Mitani to Assyrian civilization.

VIII. Aryans Enter India.

While some of the Aryans thus expanded westward, some, under the stress of the same forces in operation, set their faces eastward, and after long and aimless wanderings, which perhaps lasted over several generations, found themselves on the heights of the Hindu-Kush—in Kohistan and Kafiristan, where, as we have seen elsewhere, their presence is attested by remnants of the race still existing in a state of purity. How long they stayed here, we do not know. But by this time, they had probably become experts in geographical discovery, and it could not have taken them long to discover the verdant plains of the Punjab, so inviting and apparently holding out such a welcome. Thither they rolled in the usual course, and found the reality even better than the prospect: at last they had reached a land of plenty, with ample room for free movement!

It seems a travesty of language to dignify this first entry of the Aryans into India as a military invasion. If it was an invasion, they would have conquered and established their power before bringing in their families for purposes of permanent domicile, and on becoming domiciled, we would expect to see them commanding

* Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, 1909.

that fear and respect which their victorious arms would have inspired. But the picture of their early life in India, as portrayed in the Védas, is of the opposite character, and is one of hard and continued struggle against marauders and more pronounced foes always with one eye on them, and the other eye on their principal stay in life—their cattle. The whole brings before the mind the conditions which come into existence when spare land in a thinly inhabited part of a country becomes the seat of encampment of a wandering horde and continues to be so indefinitely. Gradually there come to be causes of friction and collisions with the adjacent rural population, and these lead to results which later on give rise to larger issues. The Aryans were at first merely trekkers changing habitation from a home of spent out attractions into a new one of promise,—not an unusual phenomenon in those days of constant movements of population. They had come apparently with all their domestic establishment and belongings, women, children, goods and chattels, and of course their droves of oxen; and arrived on the plains, they seem to have made themselves at home, much in the same way as gypsies. Possibly their coming was in the nature of both an immigration and an expansion—an immigration since they were coming into a new land, and an expansion since they were just spreading from the highlands above into the plains below. It is possible that only a few families came at first and occupied the land nearest to the frontier, and were followed by others from time to time, who went farther and farther inland for accommodation. In this way, the process may have continued for a long time until the colony had very largely increased, and the latest comers had to settle a good way inland, nearest to the permanent population, where their herds of cattle began to receive the attentions of village vagrants, and this inevitably led

to frequent *rencontres*, extending from the principals to their allies on both sides.

The situation was bound to develop, as the newcomers were uninvited guests under no one's roof in particular and the marauders were active; but the Assyrian contact had given the newcomers certain advantages which were to stand them in good stead when matters, as now shaping themselves, would have reached that stage where sturdy action on their own part would be necessary. They knew far more of the art of war than the rude rustics opposed to them, and they had far more intelligence and cunning than they. Hence, though always in fear of attack, and praying to their gods for protection, they were able to stand their ground at almost every encounter and in a general way to hold their own.

So far, however, we are only on the fringe of the contest which had automatically arisen and which was as yet confined to the newcomers and the local tribes. Possibly the central powers had at first taken no notice, there being no reason why a practically unoccupied part of the country should not afford domicile to a population which would lead to its development. Possibly too the newcomers had never entertained the idea of holding by an independent right. But when the natives began to be decidedly hostile, to rob them, and to molest them in every possible way, they had necessarily to protect themselves, and even make reprisals where such were called for. From their having constantly to defend their hearths, the idea gradually evolved that their hearths were their own, which imperceptibly gave them a different status in relation to the soil; and when this point of evolution had been reached, they felt more confident, and in case of attack would not only repel the assailants, but pursue them, annex their cattle, and sometimes even seize their fields.

IX. The Asuras of India or The Dravidians.

Thus the Aryans were expanding in a small way and gradually acquiring a position of their own when the matter drew the attention of Sambara, a great king of the Asuras, whose sphere of influence extended to this part of the country. The affairs of the Aryans now enter upon a new phase, and before we can proceed further, it becomes necessary to see who these new Asuras were, of whom Sambara was the chief. For this purpose we have to revert for a while to the home of the Indo-Aryans on the Caspian plains, and glance at some of their surroundings there. On the south, as we have already seen, they had the highly advanced nation of the Asuras (the Assyrians), whose greatness and power had made the liveliest impression on their imagination. To the north they had a lawless native tribe of Scythians known as Dasyus, called by the Iranians Dahyus, and thence known to Greek writers in later times as Dahai, Daöi, etc., and referred to in Virgil's Aeneid by the phrase "indomitique Dahae" (VIII. 1. 728). We can easily imagine from the character of these people as a race of *indomiti*, that they were in constant hostility with their neighbours, and gave those neighbours, the Aryans among the rest, endless trouble. To the south-east of the Aryans, in the southern part of Northern Arachosia, was another native population, apparently tame and submissive, known as Sudroi, a name which thence stood for servility. These names. Asuras, Dasyus, and Sudras, became such familiar words in the everyday vocabulary of the Aryans, that they gradually lost their national significance, and came to be with them the epithets for any native populations possessing the several attributes they by implication stood for. A parallel from modern times is furnished by the extended application of the term Moor. Originally the Mahomedan conquerors of Spain, who had come from

Morocco, the Moors had made a great impression on the mind of Europe as votaries of the Mohamedan faith: and when the Portuguese came to the East, they called all the Mohamedans they saw there by the name of Moors.* On this same principle, anticipated so far away in the past, the Aryans on coming to India, called all powerful people they found there Asuras; ordinary natives who were hostile to them, or were deemed to be hostile, they called Dasyus; and natives who were docile and submissive and willing to be useful to them, were taken within their own pale as a servile order, and called Sudras.

It was thus that there came to be Asuras in India also. These were, of course, powerful native tribes, and it was these Asuras who became famous in the literature of India as contributing largely to the making of history since the coming of the Aryans into that country. With the name Asuras, they too were conferred the necessary ancestry from Kasyapa; but to distinguish them from the Asuras of the West, they were given a different metronymic and called Dánavas, meaning children of Danu, Danu being another daughter of Daksha, and evidently standing for that part of India where these tribes were most powerful. In time, however, the distinction between Daityas and Dánavas was little observed, and any Asura was called by either appellation or by both indifferently. But in precise statement the distinction was always drawn.

At the time under survey, the whole of India was

* Another striking illustration is furnished by the well-known word slave. The Slaves (or Sklaves) were a free and noble nation, but some of them having had the misfortune to be taken captive in war, were sold or retained as bond-servants and were so found in different parts of Europe about the declining days of the Roman empire. These bond-servants were called after their nationality Slaves; and afterwards the idea of nationality being lost, the attribute of serfdom remained, and thus "slave" came to be the word for any serf.

inhabited by a native population scattered in various groups or communities and ruled by princes of their own great or small, which population though offering great diversities of type, is racially summed up under the one wide and comprehensive term Dravidian. One of the most powerful of these native princes was Sambara, the great Asura king already mentioned, who challenged the newly arrived Aryans, victorious over ignorant rustics and apparently risen in their own estimation, to prove their right to a separate existence on Indian soil. The Aryans had now two alternatives: either pay homage, or accept the challenge and prove the validity of their title in the only logical way. Not knowing the extent of the power that lay behind the challenge, they chose the latter alternative, and under Divódasa ("Servant of Heaven"), a capable leader, they fought and fought. But nothing could avail against the great power of Sambara; and Divódasa was hard pressed and destruction was imminent, when Indra, the war-god of the Aryans, saved the situation by rolling Sambara over the edge of a cliff and thus procuring his death. The kernel of the legend is plain: seeing no other means of salvation from the arms of the great native prince, the Aryans simply had recourse to the expedient of getting him assassinated, probably by inviting him to a conference at a place flanked by a cliff and there rolling him down the precipice.

The immediate advantages accruing to the Aryans from the coup were immense. Sambara had one hundred castles, and as the news of his assassination flew to these, the garrisons became panic-stricken and quite incapable of holding out against an assault. On the other hand the Aryans, heartened by their victory, invested and captured every fort in detail, and ninety-nine being razed to the ground, the hundredth was retained as the headquarters of Divódása.

X. Two Dravidian Princes, "Sun" and "Moon."

So far the foul deed was attended with success. But the surprise of the Dánavas was not going to be perpetual. Sambara had a number of brothers, of whom two were known to the Aryans in their own language as the princes Surya (Sun) and Candramas (Moon);* and the sequence of events leaves little doubt on our mind that these two princes stepped into the breach created by the death of their royal brother, and took vigorously in hand the work which his murder had interrupted. It requires little imagination to conceive that the Aryans, ever in a state of war almost from the date of their arrival, must have been by this time rather weakened in numerical strength, while the native population was unlimited, and the Dravidian princes could draw on it indefinitely. Even Indra's strategy of craft and foul play could not always be expected to command the blind confidence necessary for its success, and the Aryans were too intelligent not to appreciate the character of the situation thus created and the logical conclusion to which in the ordinary course it was bound to lead. The situation was accentuated by dissensions among themselves and by internecine conflict which had followed in the train of their successes and which considerably weakened their powers of combination for common purposes of offence and defence. Under the circumstances they seem to have shewn their practical wisdom by coming to a proper decision in due time and capitulating to the sovereign power of the land on favourable terms.

XI. Manu, the First Emperor of India.

We find a prince by the name of Manu elected by a "great suffrage" to be the Emperor of all India, and both Aryans and Dravidians, the whole country that is to say,

* *Mahábhárata. Adi Parva*, chap. lxv.

united in acclaiming his accession. Manu was the son of Vivasvat ("the Brilliant One"=Sun), and was also called Satyavrata, and Srâddhadéva, and according to the Bhágavata Purána, he was the Lord of the Dravidas (Dravidesvara).* Now, prince Súrya, brother of Sambara, was, according to the signification of his name, Sun (Súrya=Helios): as a Dravidian royal prince, he was certainly a Lord of Dravida, and as one of the two leaders in the national struggle, and the senior,† he was undoubtedly the lord, in a special sense, of the Dravidian nation. If, therefore, this was the Helios from whom Manu derived his existence and title, then the position of Manu as the Lord of the Dravidas in addition to being the offspring of the Sun, is explained. Hence the trend of the evidence as disclosed in the name of his father and in his title, is to shew that Manu was the great representative at the time of a momentous event in the history of his country, of the exalted house of Sambara. It may be noted in passing that this Manu, the first great emperor of India, was not the first to bear this illustrious name: he was only the Seventh of the name of Manu

The accession of Manu as sovereign in chief over a united people, marked the beginning of a new era for India. The sharp distinction between foreign Aryan and native Dravidian now began to lose its pronounced character, and new influences set in—community of interests and social intercourse—tending to make them eventually members of one nation. The Emperor himself, by his position as the head of the military power, became in the language of his Aryan subjects, the chief Kṣatriya (warrior) in the state, and all his relations, as

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* VIII., 24, 13.

† Muir translates it as "the lord of Dravida," which is also admissible. (See Original Sanskrit Texts, Sec. Ed., Vol. II., p. 209.)

members of the military order, automatically became Kṣatriyas. Kṣatriya here appearing in a political and literal as opposed to its anthropological meaning.

XII. Aryans Meet with Favour.

It has already been stated that Aryans on the Caspian plains derived much of the rudiments of their culture from Assyria. The reasons for that statement have now to be briefly shewn. We have already seen an Aryan document of Mitani written in Assyrian script, which directly means a great deal by itself and indirectly stands for a great deal more. Turning now to the eastern branch of the Caspian Aryans, *i.e.*, to the Aryans with whom we are concerned in India, we find from light thrown by the oldest hymns of the Rg Véda, that their conditions of society were at one time those of a nomadic race of hunters and cattle-keepers who led a very primitive mode of existence. In the course of their history, we find them spread on the plains of Iran in proximity to a great cultured nation, the Assyrians, and living there we do not know for how long, but possibly for a good long period. From here they migrate and reach India, and then we see that the primitive nomads of the earlier days are now the possessors of a culture rudimentary indeed, but reflecting to a considerable extent as far as it goes, the culture of Babylonia which had civilized and animated Assyria. The inference is plain: the erstwhile primitive nomads had acquired much of their culture, such as it was, while in Iran, and that from Assyria. But in addition to sound inference, we have also direct evidence on the subject. In the *Súrya Siddhánta*, the oldest and the most authoritative Hindu work on Astronomy, the principles of that science are communicated to the world by the Sun-god himself, and the channel of communication is an Asura-teacher of the name of Maya, who, we are informed in the commentary,

was a Daitya. Translated into matter of fact language, this means that the first text book on Astronomy known to the Aryans, was written by a great doctor of the science among the Asuras, and this was the source from which the Aryans derived their knowledge of the subject. Again, according to the *Mahábhárata*, the great Indian epic, the best royal palace in India of the epic age, that of Yudhishthira, was built by an Asura architect also of the name of Maya. The grandeur of the palace may all be true, or owe in part to imagination, and the great name of Maya may or may not have been brought in for the sake of heightening the effect. But whether real or imaginary, in part or whole, the story shows that Aryan civilization and Aryan culture always recognized the lead of the Asuras. Nor could these Asuras be of the Indian kind; for by the time traditions came to be collected and written down, the latter stood for sworn foes, detested, disparaged, and painted in hideous colours, the last to be mentioned in any connection which will reflect honour or credit. The Asuras of honourable mention were therefore the other kind, the Assyrians, who, as a matter of fact were builders of great palaces and diligent cultivators of the science of Astronomy. Thus we have strong evidence both presumptive and direct of the influence of Assyrian civilization on such crude beginnings of Aryan culture as were of spontaneous growth; those beginnings were invigorated and stimulated to higher development by light radiating from Assyria, like plants by the rays of the sun. It is that same light, struck by Shumiro-Accads, fed by the Assyrians, carried East and West by the Aryans and the Turanians, and since become intensely bright, which illumines the world at the present day.

The culture which the Aryans thus brought into India had the attraction of novelty in some respects, and in some respects it was an advance upon local knowledge.

This placed the Aryans, after strife had ceased, in a favourable position in the new country. Intelligence, especially if it has something to impart, is everywhere honoured, and as soon as there was mutual understanding and goodwill, we see the native princes giving full recognition to the intelligence of the Aryans, who are admitted to their inner councils and entrusted with positions of honour and high responsibility in the state. One class of them, who formed the priestly order, had made intellectual pursuits a speciality. This class, the Brahmans, though destined to become great leaders of thought, and raise India to high intellectual eminence at a later date, were, at that time, by no means distinguished for their intellectual or spiritual culture; they were merely ritual priests who served the convenient purpose of saving to the rest of society the trouble of mastering all the details of a complex liturgy necessary for public worship. According to good authority, the mysteries of spiritual knowledge were once actually denied to a Brahman, because no Brahman had ever had that knowledge before, and that knowledge was confined to the Kṣatriyas, who alone could impart it (*Chandogya Upaniṣad*, V., iii., 7). By Kṣatriyas here we are plainly to understand the native princes, since among the Aryans themselves the Brahmans were the best repositories of all knowledge, and could have had nothing to learn from princes of their own. It would thus appear that the Brahmans, and therefore the Aryans in general, had much to learn in India from indigenous culture which was of a high order. But in their own Aryan society, the Brahmans were the priests and the teachers of the young; and it is plain that their professional qualifications in these directions had commended themselves to the native princes, who now used them as a valuable means in the new order of things for the general enlightenment of the country. It was thus that

national education fell into the hands of these newcomers, who thereafter moulded the thoughts and formed the character of the rising generations after their own manner of thinking, that is to say, upon Aryan models; and this in its results is the Aryan conquest of India of which we hear so much, and which is wrongly associated with force of arms. In later times, Christianity conquered Europe under the shadow of pagan kings whom it had converted. In the same way, anteriorly, Aryanism conquered India under the shadow of two great royal houses, the Solar and the Lunar families, which it had Aryanized. It does not appear to be true that Aryans were ever masters of India except in the sense here indicated; morally they ruled, but politically they were always, whether as priests, teachers, or ministers of state, servants of Dravidian masters of the two houses named, who filled most of the thrones of India.

XIII. The Imperial Houses of the Sun and the Moon.

The natural flow of events earlier in the story leaves no room for doubt that the progenitors of these two great houses were the princes Súrya and Candramás, the brothers of Sambara. As time passed, and the memory of these two Asura progenitors gradually got dim under the influence of Aryan education, leaving however only their names fresh in tradition, these names gradually pointed people's minds, which were always prone to the marvellous in the case of royal origins, to the two luminaries of heaven; and thus came about the celestial descent of the two houses of the Sun and the Moon, it being understood that the progenitor in each case was not the luminary in its astronomical aspect, but its presiding divinity. But however absurd the idea of such a descent in real life,—for the two houses were real—this is not the worst part of the claim made on behalf of these two illustrious royal lines. A descent

from the shining ones above carries with it the obvious suggestion of an alternative to accept or reject the story according to one's credulity or power of judgment. Not so the axiom for which European scholars from the time of Sir William Jones up to now are responsible, that these two royal houses represent the model of Aryan purity and the height of Aryan greatness. The axiom is offered with all the force of conviction behind it, and with all the authority of received tact; and one feels almost chary of calling in question the soundness of a view held by thinkers of such high eminence in the world and for ever so long. Yet dogmas are not science. Science rests upon truth either demonstrated, or requiring no demonstration as being self-evident, and it does not appear that the axiom in question belongs to either of these categories. With due respect therefore to European scholars, the present writer feels compelled to enter his protest, which is hereby done, against the further perpetuation of this unwarranted assumption. According to the celestial genealogy, Manu VII., the son of our brighter luminary, was the first heaven-born sovereign on earth, and from him issued the two royal lines in question, one direct, the other through his daughter, who married the son of the Moon, and hence called the Lunar dynasty as proceeding in the male line in descendants of the Moon. We have already seen evidence to show that Manu VII. was presumably a Dravidian, while it has to be stated that there does not seem to be a shadow of evidence in favour of the assumption that he was an Aryan. We shall now show that even if his celestial descent be accepted for what it is worth, he will still, as a mortal and an Indian, be the flower, not of the Aryan, but of the Dravidian race. Says Manu I. (who was no other than the Creator himself and therefore the best authority on such a subject) in his Code (x. 45):—

Mukha báhúru pajjánám
Yá lóké játayó bahih
Mléccha vácas cárya vácas
Sarvé té Dasyavah smrtáh.

"Whatever races (ot men) be in the world outside those born from the mouth, the arms, the thighs, and the feet (of Brahma), they all, whether speaking the language of the barbarians, or speaking the language of the Aryans, are known in law as Dasyus."

According to this pronouncement then, the Aryans comprised only the four *varnas* (or social orders) which emanated from four particular parts of Brahma's body, viz., the Bráhmans or priests coming from the mouth, the Kṣatriyas or warriors from the arms, the Vaisyas or the economic class from the thighs, and the Súdras or the helots born from the feet; and outside these, all human beings, be their progenitors who they may, were Dasyus or non-Aryans. Now, the Sun, according to the generally accepted account, is the offspring of Kasyapa by his wife Aditi after whom he is called Áditya. In the Purusa-súkta of the Rg Véda, he is represented as making his appearance from the eyes of Brahma; and elsewhere he is sometimes spoken of as the son of Dyaus (Sky). In the same way, the Moon, according to the generally accepted account, proceeds from the eye of Maríci, a son of Brahma and a sub-creator; but in the Purusa-súkta, he appears as born from the mind of Brahma, and elsewhere as born from Brahma's heart. Whichever of these origins be accepted in the case of each, it is plain that neither the Sun nor the Moon comes within any one of the four orders of Aryan society as taken in the anthropological sense, and that the earthly progeny of the two divinities, being thus outside, were clearly non-Aryans. Yet they were Indians. Hence they were children of the soil and were Dravidians.

The evidence of race thus furnished by genealogy only confirms the conclusion we have already independently arrived at on historical probability. But the clincher is given by the colour of our heroes and heroines wherever this is known—colour, the decisive test of race as between the Aryans and the home population. Whereas the Aryans prided themselves on their *varna* and were distinguished for their fair colour, Ráma and Krshna, the most eminent representatives of the houses of the Sun and the Moon respectively, were very dark persons,* and in the case of Ráma, it is further recorded that his eyes were like the bright petals of the red lotus: thus a dark man with flaming red eyes, the ideal of Dravidian manhood.† Among the females too, Draupadi, the wife of the Pándavas and the heroine of the central story in the greatest epic of India, was a dark beauty.‡

Thus whichever way the question is looked at, the result is always the same: the two sovereign houses of India, whether received from heaven, or, as is more reasonable to believe, derived from the great Asura family which Sambara adorned, remain Dravidian. So far on the question of race. On the question of culture, it must be admitted that they were fully and effectively Aryan in their lives. But so are also the Tamils of South India to-day. Yet it is only in this cultural sense that people can be correct when they speak of Ráma and Krshna and the rest, and their wives, as Aryan princes and princesses. It seems that all our ideas hitherto entertained with regard to the relative position of Aryans and Dravidians in the constitution

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* Sanskrit literature, *passim*.

† *Ramayana*, Bála Kánda, canto 18, stz. 11; Ayódhya Kánda, 2. 43, 2. 53; 4.2; 13.9.

‡ Mrs. Manning: *Ancient and Mediaeval India*, Mahábhárata, (Vol. II., p. 33.)

of Indian society, as merely a question of race irrespective of grades, will have to be considerably revised.

XIV. The Origin of the Sinhalese.

Naturally I may be expected to say something about the Sinhalese too in this connection, before I shall have done. At the tail end of a short essay dealing with a great subject, it is impossible to devote more than a few words to an incidental question, however important taken by itself. I shall therefore briefly state that in respect of their blood, the Sinhalese are a Dravidian race slightly modified by a Mongoloid strain and an Aryan wash. The race originated by the combination of three elements, the first being a contingent of seven hundred outlaws from Sinhapura, under their leader Vijaya Sinha, son of the ruling prince of that country and a roystering cavalier, whose exploits had led to the banishment of himself and all his gang. Sinhapura was the centre of a young principality, which had been founded in the country of Rára (known also as Rárá, Rádhá, and Rádha) lying to the west of the Hugli extending far inland, and forming at that date an outlying district of the kingdom of Kalinga. The name of this district, or country, as having reference to Vijaya's story, appears in Pali as Lála, from which form of the name Western scholars have concluded that the country referred to is Láta or Gujerat, the Larikê of Ptolemy. But Lála could as easily be the derivative from Rára or Rádha and the story of the Mahávamsa, not to speak of other records, leaves no room for doubt that this is the country which was the home of nativity of Vijaya and the scene of his early life. Evidently we still see part at least of the territory and the full memorial of the principality in the district and name of Sing Bhúm, scil. Sinha Bhúmi, "the land of the Sinhas or Lions," in the present

administrative province of Bihar and Orissa, of which by a curious coincidence complimentary to the Lions, a Sinha was destined to be the first Governor in our own day from among the sons of India. The father of the founder of this principality was a Lion (Sinha), and judging from the fact that his fixed haunt too was this land of the lions, it looks uncommonly like being the case that he was not the only lion in the land, but that the land was the home of a clan of Lions, after whom it was named, and who themselves derived their name from the true animal answering to the appellation, which animal, be it observed, probably constituted their totem. The use of totem names for purposes of tribal designation was a common feature of inter-tribal life in ancient India:* witness the Nágas (serpents), the Vánaras (monkeys), the Garudas (birds), etc. The Sinhas do not, of course, exist at the present day, as a separate tribe under the totemistic name, any more than do the Vánaras, the Garudas, etc., that order of things in India having long since passed away.† But Sing Bhúm is in Chutia Nagpur, till recently a part of Western Bengal, and it is well-known that Chutia Nagpur still shows the purest Dravidian population in all India. The tribes there to-day are principally the Hos, with other sections of the Kolarian branch of the great Dravidian family, such as the Santals, the Ahirs, and the Mundas. The Hos, or Larkas as they are otherwise called, were a very warlike race, and held out against all comers in their wild independence, till they were out-manœuvred and tamed —not exactly conquered—and gradually led into habits of orderly life by the British in the days of the East India Company. Coming from the home of such a

* Compare Russell and Hira Lal: *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, Vol. I., pp. 89-90, "Totemistic Clans;" Imperial Gazetteer of India, new edition, Vol. I., p. 308, "The Dravidian Tribe."

† The Nágas alone still exist under that name, in a small way in India proper, and in larger numbers in Assam.

population (of Kols), Vijaya and his seven hundred followers were presumably Kols, and counted among their number recruits probably drawn from almost all the tribes of the country. Perhaps their field of enlistment even extended to and embraced the frontiers of Orissa. Vijaya's mother while she was yet a maiden—Lady Sivali Sinha—and his grandmother, Princess Susimá, wore leaves when making their escape from the forest; and among the Putuvas of Orissa the only vestment known, next to Nature's garb, consists of two bunches of leaves stuck to a girdle fore and aft. Could it be that Sinha, the fountain-head of the Vijayan family, was a Patuva who had carried his totem and a number of kindred spirits to his own, farther north, and established himself as a robber chief where, at the point he comes within our range of view, we see him pouncing upon the caravan which had been joined by the beautiful Susima, princess of Vanga, out on her escapade of romance? But whether he was Putuva or no, it is probable that all his clan were robbers, and that the totem of the lion had been adopted by them as a flattering symbol of their reckless courage in the pursuit of their exciting profession. Be that as it may, we have but one assumption possible with regard to their race, that they were Dravidians, of the branch Kols or Kohls.

But it is claimed that Vijaya and his band were Bengalese, this claim being based on evidence apparently arising from a confusion of ideas and geography in reading the story of Vijaya in the Mahávamsa. Even if the claim be allowed for what it is worth, the Vijayan contingent would still be mainly Dravidian, with a slight admixture of Mongoloid and Aryan elements, since such are the Bengalese according to the findings of science.*

* *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, new edition, vol. I., p. 304. Also article Bengal in subsequent vol.

The second component of the Sinhalese race was a contribution of seven hundred maidens from Madura, who came over as brides for Vijaya and his followers, with a large train of servants representing various crafts and professions; and all these being from Pándya and therefore Tamil, were of course Dravidians.

The third component was the aboriginal population of Ceylon, consisting of two divisions, Yakshas and Nágas, both Dravidian.

To these must be added two very small contributions, and a third fairly large, from Magadha. The character of these contributions ethnologically was that of an intermixture in varying proportions of Aryan and Dravidian types, with perhaps also a touch of the Mongoloid.*

The last of these arrivals was in the reign of the king Dévánampiya Tissa, when the Sinhalese nation may be said to have been fairly formed. But from that point forward for nearly a millenium and a half, Ceylon received from time to time large accessions to its population from the countries of South India and the Dekkan, all Dravidians. About the last notable addition in this way, though directly from South India, was not of its people; it was part of a warrior tribe of North India which on the conquest of their country by the Mohamedans, had preferred to migrate rather than live in submission to the conqueror, and had taken service with the princes of South India. These people too, though fully Aryan in their lives, were Dravidian by origin.

Such is the ethnic composition of the Sinhalese race. But like the greater part of India, Ceylon too received Aryan culture and maintained an intimate connection with Aryan languages and Aryan thought.

* *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, new edition, vol. I., pp. 295-304.

and that from an early date in its national history. As a result of this association we observe that while in their customs relating to family life and social intercourse, coming down by ancient tradition, the Sinhalese are Dravidian, they in their culture, which is later, are Aryan. In the basic principles of their grammar, the Sinhalese are Dravidian; in grammatical flexion and vocabulary, which form the superstructure of the language, they are Aryan. We observe too that the Sinhalese exhibit the same diversity of stature, of features, and of complexion, as do the Dravidians, who, it will be remembered, though covered by one racial name, run into countless varieties.

Thus the Sinhalese are a blend of Dravidian elements, with but a slight extraneous dilution, and belong ethnologically to the ruling race of India, the Dravidian; in their civilization they belong mainly to the ministerial race, the Aryan. They themselves, like the rest of the world, had no ideas on the subject, as the subject is but a revelation of recent date; but since Max Müller's charming theories became familiar, they have held and continue to hold the reflected view that the Aryans are the superior race; and going one better than the European theorists, they believe that they themselves are not merely Aryans, but represent the pink of the race, being descended on one side from the Bengalese, and on the other from the pure Aryans of Madura! now extinct!!* It would seem that some

* The theory of an Aryan conquest and colonization of South India, supposed to have taken place about the 5th century, B.C., was started, I believe, by that grand old orientalist of our day, Sir Rámakrshna Gópal Bhandarkar, who advanced it in his *Early History of Dekkan*. It has lately been presented again, very much elaborated and expanded, by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, in his lectures, as Carmichael Lecturer before the University of Calcutta. The whole theory is based on a grammatical aphorism supposed to emanate from Kátyáyana, in the course of his running commentary on the great grammar of Pánini In explaining certain geographical and territorial terms, he is made to say, in reference to the word Pándya, (Pánini iv. i. 168-70), that the word is a

European writer has said somewhere, and the statement has been widely repeated, that the same Aryan face is seen among the Sinhalese as on the banks of the Ganges. The dubious character of the compliment was perhaps never intended, and certainly it has never been suspected by its recipients in Ceylon; and the Sinhalese sincerely believe that this testimony to their physiognomy puts the hall-mark and the seal on their pure Aryan descent. Will it be too much for a dissenting Sinhaleseman to hope that the situation might be given a sensible review?

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secondary noun derived from a primary noun Pándu, which, while standing for a country, denotes also a Ksatriya tribe. This explanation, if authentic, would go to shew that in the view of Kátyáyana, the Pándyans were an offshoot of a Ksatriya tribe known as Pándus, from which the conclusion has been drawn that they were Aryans.

Among many objections to this theory it is here enough to say that as a scientific deduction, the theory is unsound, inasmuch as there is nothing to shew that the Pándus themselves, the supposed original stock, were Aryans. The fact that they were Ksatriyas does not go far enough, since the Ksatriya order was not confined to the Aryans only, but is recognized to have existed among other nations as well (Manu, X. 43-4). The greatest Ksatriya of the name of Pándu known to epic and history, the reputed father of the five Pándavas, was a Dravidian, since he was a prince of the royal house of the Moon, and that house, as we have seen, was Dravidian. If such was Pándu of the highest note, what justification is there for believing that the sons of these less known Pándus, conquering and spreading over South India, and now represented by descendants who are out-and-out Tamils, were of any other race than Dravidian?

The Aryan population of South India, virile and dominant but in the end submerging in the surrounding population, would seem to be entirely a creation of fancy, induced by a belief prevalent till sometime ago of a military expansion of the Aryans over the whole of India. The belief is now getting to be exploded. But in justice to Sir Rámakrshna Bhandarkar, it must be said that in basing opinions on that belief, he did no more than see things from the angle of vision to which scientists at that date were yet accustomed.

"THE ARYAN QUESTION IN RELATION TO INDIA."

REMARKS BY A. MENDIS GUṆASÉKARA, MUDALIYAR.

The views embodied in this lecture have already been placed before the public by the learned lecturer on several occasions and adversely criticised. I am sorry to say that his theories and inferences are not supported by facts and are therefore not entitled to any respect. The investigations carried on by European Orientalists in the past have not helped them even to fix with certainty the original home of the Áryans or the approximate time of their migration. Professor Max Müller, the best European authority on the Áryan question, says: "Every kind of argument, chiefly derived from language, has been used to show that the Áryas must have started from Kohistan, from Armenia, from the Caucasus, from the Caspian Sea, from the Rokitno Swamps in Russia, from the Danube, or the Dnieper, from Germany, from Scandinavia, nay, from the North Pole" (*Last Essays*, First series, p. 187, London, 1901). As regards evidence furnished by skulls he says as follows:—"To speak of an Áryan skull would be as great a monstrosity as to speak of a dolichocephalic language..... Instead of attempting to classify mankind as a whole, students are now engaged in classing skulls, in classing hair, and teeth, and skin. Many solid results have been secured by these special researches; but, as yet, no two classifications, based on these characteristics, have been made to run parallel." [*Chips from a German Workshop*, Vol. I., page 232 (edition of 1894)].

The opinion of the Hindus on the Áryan question is stated as follows in "A Short History of Áryan Medical Science," by H. H. Sir Bhagvat Sinh Jee, K.C.I.E.,

M.D., D.C.L., L.L.D., F.R.C.P.E. (London, 1896):—"The word 'Áryan' is here used in what the Hindoos believe to be the original and only proper sense. It has been customary of late years to give it a much wider meaning, so as to make it denote the supposed original people, from whom, according to the Western Ethnologists, Celts and Teutons, Italians and Greeks, Persians and Hindoos, are all descended. The similarities which modern science has discovered between such outlying members of a supposed original stock as the Celts and the Hindoos, have led certain scholars to believe that the ancestors of these nations were first living together in the Caucasus, but afterwards separated, the Hindoos migrating into India, where they settled with their families after conquering the aboriginal tribes. This theory is European in its conception and is not accepted by the Indians in general, who call themselves autochthonous. The Indian *savants* adduce internal and external evidence to show that, far from being outsiders, it was possible for the early Hindoos to have sent colonies beyond frontiers." This theory is not one that can be rejected so easily as others. The antiquity of the Sanskrit language and of the Vedas lends support to this theory. Professor Max Müller says: "The fact that Sanskrit is the most primitive language of the Áryan family is as true to-day as it was fifty years ago." (*The Biography of Words and the Home of the Áryas*, page 94—London, 1888.) And again: "If we were to place it [Veda] at 5,000 years B.C., I doubt whether anybody could refute such a date, while if we go back beyond the Veda, and come to measure the time require for the formation of Sanskrit and of the proto-Áryan language, I doubt very much whether even 5,000 years would suffice for that. There is an unfathomable depth in language, layer following after layer, long before we arrive at roots, and what a time and what an effort must have been required for their elaboration and for the elaboration of the ideas expressed in them." [Professor Max Müller's Autobiography (1901), page 193]. The Hindu theory is

further supported by the work entitled: "India in Greece," by E. Pococke [London, 1852], which proves that parts of Greece were originally colonized by Indians.

The ancient records of India furnish the best and most reliable evidence on the Áryan question and help us to find out with certainty who the descendants of the ancient Áryans are at the present day. The oldest records in which the Áryans are referred to are the Vedas, the antiquity of which has already been shown above. The term 'Árya' is used there to distinguish the Hindus from the Anáryas, *i.e.*, Dásyu or Dása, better known to-day as Súdra. The Áryas or Áryans were so called because they formed the noble or respectable section of the people of India and were the masters or superiors of the Dásyu or Súdra population. Manu (800 B.C. according to Professor Wilson) has often used the term Árya in the sense of 'noble,' 'respectable.' The Śatapatha-bráhmaṇa of the Śukla-yajur-Veda states that the Áryas are the people appertaining to the three castes: Bráhman (or Priests), Kshatriya (or Warriors), and Vaiśya (or merchants and agriculturists). Páṇini (600 B.C. according to Goldstücker) defines 'Árya' as master, as well as Vaiśya, and when the term is used in the sense of master it denotes the first three castes, *viz.*, Bráhman, Kshatriya and Vaiśya. So it is clear that Árya in its ethnic sense is applied to the people of the first three classes as opposed to the fourth or Súdra class. Hence there is no difficulty whatever at the present day to distinguish the Áryans of India from the non-Áryans. This explanation is unalterable and cannot be affected by whatever that may be stated in favour of the non-Áryans.

There is nothing whatever to show that "the seven hundred maidens from Madura who came over as brides for Vijaya and his followers" were Tamils or Dravidians. Prince Vijaya and his people landed in Ceylon in 543 B.C. and application to the Pandyan King to send brides for them was made shortly after. This was a time when caste distinctions were strictly observed in

India, and it is therefore quite impossible to think that for the purpose of his coronation Vijaya would have accepted a bride who was a non-Áryan or that application for brides would have been made to the Pandyan King if he was not an Áryan and if the principal population of his city was non-Áryan. Chapter vii., v. 47, clearly states that Vijaya refused to be consecrated as king, unless a *Khsatriya Kaññá* (*i.e.*, a maiden of the Khsatriya or Royal caste) was consecrated as his queen, and this shows that this Pandyan king was verily a Kshatriya and therefore an Áryan and not a Dravidian (Śudra). That the Sinhalese are of Dravidian descent or that their language has a Dravidian origin is now an exploded theory. (*Vide* "Census of India," 1901. "Indexes of Languages." By G. A. Grierson, p. 70. London, 1901.)

Mere conjectures, misinterpretations, and suggestions and conclusions based on them, with which the lecture is replete, should not be accepted as facts.

REMARKS BY T. B. RUSSELL.

1. Mudaliyar Gunawardhana's paper is evidence of the strong reaction that has taken place in recent years against the once dominant Aryan Theory, which ascribed the birth and growth of Indian civilization to the long-headed, blue-eyed invaders from the North—a reaction which has its analogue in the political and cultural sphere, in the revulsion at present taking place in India against that second Aryan invasion which started four centuries ago, coming this time from the sea, and has continued up till the present day. I wish, briefly, to suggest in these remarks that the Mudaliyar so far from being revolutionary, as many will doubtless think him, in assigning to the Dravidians a considerable share in Indian and Sinhalese civilization, is too conservative. Might it not be contended that the predominant ingredients in that civilization, like the race itself, are Dravidian?

2. Some years ago I had the advantage of certain discussions with Mudaliyar Muttu Cumaru of Batticaloa, and read certain articles of his in the *National Monthly*, in which he maintained that the Dravidians, so far from being the aboriginal race Mudaliyar Gunawardhana appears to consider them, had themselves invaded India in pre-Aryan times, being a branch of the ancient Sumerian race, which gave birth to the great Babylonian civilization. Mudaliyar Muttu Cumaru did not give his authorities and I do not know how far he has simply given his imagination rein. But the theory is a plausible and fascinating one, and it would be interesting to work it out and see what substratum of truth there may be in it.

3. It is not necessary to suppose that the Dravidians actually came from lower Mesopotamia, where the Sumerians settled down and developed their civilization. The Sumerians themselves are generally supposed to have been a Turanian race, who migrated westwards from the direction of Turkestan and Central Asia. May not the Dravidians have split off in the course of that migration, and, turning eastwards, have entered India from the North-west, whilst their relations continued westwards to Mesopotamia? There is the curious fact, which ethnologists have been content to leave a mystery, that there is a tribe of people at present in Beloochistan called Brahnis, who are Dravidian in both aspect and speech. The Dravidians have themselves been called a Turanian race and the agglutinative character of their language, as shown, I think, by Bishop Caldwell in his comparative grammar, seems to support this ascription.

4. If this pre-Aryan invasion of India by the Dravidians is a fact, we may assume that they brought with them the same Turanian culture which their relations, the Sumerians, subsequently developed at the head of the Persian Gulf, and that therefore, when the later Aryan invasion occurred, there was already existing in India a high civilization, infinitely higher in fact

than the one which the tall blonde nomad warriors brought with them; and that just as their relations, the Sumerians, gave their culture to the invading Semites and so produced the great Babylonian civilization, so the Dravidians bestowed their culture on the conquering Aryans and so gave birth to the great Indian civilization.

5. Possibly the only real contribution that the Aryans made towards the result was the gift of their superior practical energy, which was required to galvanize the more intellectual Dravidians into fruitful action. Take for example the Hindu religion. Tamil scholars, I believe, consider that modern Hinduism, and in particular the characteristic Saivite aspect of it, is, as a religion, a purely Dravidian creation. The Aryan invaders of India were polytheistic animists. How has their polytheism developed into that mystical pantheism, which is so characteristic of Indian speculation and worship? We have only to contrast it with the positive pantheism of their cousins, the Iranians, who in Zoroastrianism developed an ethical religion more in keeping with the Aryan character. May we not ascribe the different results attained in the Indian religion to the predominating Turanian influence of the Dravidians, an influence analogous to that which was exercised by the Sumerians on the Semites, and by them transmitted to the Hebrews, and through the latter to ourselves.

6. If the Turanian theory of the origin of Indian civilization is a true one, light is perhaps incidentally thrown on the problem of the Asuras, which occupies so many of Mudaliyar Gunawardhana's pages. He suggests that the Aryans, having come into contact with the Assyrians prior to their invasion of India, applied the word "Assura" by analogy to the powerful Dravidian ruling race, which they found there. This is surely rather an unnatural explanation. Apart from the obvious strangeness of this use of the word, it necessitates the assumption that the Assyrians were a great imperial people at a date anterior to the Aryan invasion

of India, which I believe cannot be put later than 1600 B.C. In fact Mudaliyar Gunawardhana speaks of the Assyrians as a great race in the third millenium B.C. No doubt the Assyrians did exist as a race as early as that, but their great period, when they extended their influence to neighbouring peoples, was much later and occurred long after the Aryans had settled down in the plains of Northern India. Is it not more likely that just as the Assyrian god Asshur must have been adopted from the Turanian Sumerians, so the Asuras were a contribution to Indian religion by the Turanian Dravidians, and that just as the Iranians called the Supreme God Ahura Mazdah under the influence of their Turanian neighbours, so the Indo-Aryans found the cult of Asshur and the Asuras already established among the Dravidians? Or if this is too far-fetched, may not the use of the word Asuras for their Dravidian rulers be simply a recognition by the Aryans that they were in race and culture allied to the Assyrians?

7. But I am afraid I am getting on to very speculative ground here, and it is perhaps just as probable that there is no connection between Asura and Asshur, as Dr. Keith thinks, just as the identification of "Erin" and "Aryan," which I notice in another part of the Mudaliyar's paper, is not admitted by many modern scholars, and is on the face of it improbable.

8. I cannot conclude without congratulating Mudaliyar Gunawardhana on his interesting and scholarly paper, and expressing the hope that his next contribution to the subject will be a paper entitled this time, "The *Dravidian* Question in Relation to India," in which he might develop the promising beginning he has made in his present paper.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, August 19, 1921.

Present:

The Hon'ble Mr. E. W. Perera, M.L.C., in the Chair.

Mr. Simon de Silva, J.P., Gate Mudaliyar. | Mr. W. F. Gunawardhana, Gate Mudaliyar.

Mr. Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S., Honorary Secretary.

Business:

1. The minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 30th March, 1921, were read and confirmed.

2. The following gentlemen were elected members of the Society:—

(a) Francis Graeme Tyrrell, B.A. (Oxon.), C. C. S.: recommended by — A. M. Hocart. C. H. Collins.

(b) Chellappah Suntheralingam, B.A. (Oxon.), L.L.B., B.Sc., C.C.S.: recommended by — Gerard A. Joseph. H. W. Codrington.

(c) Clement M. Ricketts, M.A. (Oxon.): recommended by — F. H. de Winton. C. H. Jolliffe.

(d) Arthur Godwin Ranasingha, B.A., C.C.S.: recommended by — P. Arunáchalam. Gerard A. Joseph.

(e) Edmund Reimers: recommended by — R. G. Anthonisz. C. H. Collins.

(f) Harold Pound: recommended by — Gerard A. Joseph. C. H. Collins.

(g) Don Joseph Nicholas Perera, O. M. I., M. A., B. Sc., F.C.S.: recommended by — Gerard A. Joseph. C. H. Collins.

(h) Reginald Temple Newsam: recommended by — J. P. MacGillivray. Gerard A. Joseph.

(i) S. S. Fernando: recommended by — M. S. P. Samarasingha. John M. Senaveratne.

(j) S. R. Wijémánna: recommended by — Gerard A. Joseph. C. H. Collins.

(k) Wijeyesingha William Karunáratne: recommended by — F. D. Jayasinghe. A. M. Gunasékera.

(l) William Simon Sérasingha: recommended by — F. D. Jayasinha. A. M Gunasékera

(m) Mohamed Alie Mohamed Ismail: recommended by — M. I. M. Ali. S. C. Paul.

3. The Report of the sub-Committee appointed to consider the present system of transliteration was tabled and it was resolved that the Report be accepted and forwarded to Government.

4. A list of books to be offered to the University College Library was tabled and it was resolved that the sub-Committee's recommendation be approved.

5. Correspondence with the Archæological Commissioner *re* Archæological Antiquities was read and it was resolved that a sub-Committee consisting of Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera, Messrs. C. H. Collins and D B. Jayatilaka be appointed to report on the matter.

6. Letters dated 7th and 11th May, 1921, from Gate Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana, regarding his paper on "Sinhalese Names," were read and it was decided that Gate Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana be allowed to publish his paper privately.

7. A list of members whose subscriptions were in arrears was submitted, and it was resolved that the Hony. Treasurer be authorized to strike off the names of the defaulters after one more final appeal to pay the arrears.

8. It was resolved that the date and business for a General Meeting be left in the hands of the Secretaries.

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, November 2, 1921.

Present:

His Excellency Sir Wm. H. Manning, G.C.M.G., K.B.E., C.B., Patron, in the Chair.

Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., M.A., President.

Mr. W. Dias Bandaranaika, Gate Mudaliyar.
,, W. A. de Silva, J.P.
,, Lionel de Fonseka.
,, J. E. Gunasekara.
,, A. S. Harrison, M.Sc.
Dr. C. A. Héwávitárana.
The Hon. Mr. B. Horsburgh, M.A., C.C.S.
Mr. C. H. Jolliffe.
,, S. J. C. Kadirgamar.
Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
,, S. C. Paul, M.D.
Mr. C. L. Perera.
,, R. C. Proctor, Mudaliyar.
,, R. Sagarájasingham, J.P.
,, W. A. Samarasingha, Mudaliyar.
Pandit R. Sásanálaṅkára.
Mr. Leigh Smith, M.A.
,, F. A. Tisseverasingha.
,, C. F. Winzer.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S. } Honorary
,, Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S. } Secretaries.

Visitors: 14 ladies and 23 gentlemen.

Business:

1. The minutes of the last Annual General Meeting held on 27th June, 1921, were confirmed.

2. Col. F. Wall's book on "The Snakes of Ceylon," published by the Colombo Museum, was laid on the table.

3. Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P., read a paper entitled "Articles used in Sinhalese Ceremonial Dancing."

ARTICLES USED IN SINHALESE CEREMONIAL DANCING.

Ceremonies connected with the daily life of the Sinhalese are numerous and varied in their character. Every social and domestic event has its form of ceremony or a number of ceremonies. Birth, childhood, feeding of a child, cropping of his hair, puberty, marriage, travel, sickness and death, the building of a house, business, games, agriculture, from felling a forest to ploughing, sowing, reaping, and thrashing and storing of crops have all their special ceremonies.

The ceremonies themselves consist in making offerings, incantations, charms and dances. These again are connected with spirits both benevolent and evil and can be roughly divided under three heads, *viz.*: —The propitiation of planets and planetary spirits, the propitiation of benevolent spirits, the propitiation of demons or evil spirits.

In this communication I propose to describe some of the articles used in such ceremonial dances.

In all ceremonial dances the first step taken is the purification of those who are taking part in the dances and those for whose benefit the dancing is performed. The process of purification differs to some extent in accordance with the class of ceremony. Those who take part in the ceremonies are required to abstain from certain forms of food for at least twenty-four hours before the ceremonies. Abstinence from meat and fish of all forms is enjoined in many cases. Bathing and the use of freshly cleaned white cloth form a part of the purification ceremonies. In addition to these just prior to a ceremony four articles are used as purificants: A specially prepared medicated water for washing the head, a preparation for sprinkling over the face and body, ashes used for rubbing over the forehead and arms, and

incense with which the person is fumigated. The preparation for application to the head is known as *Nanu*, it is usually made by using the juice of various aromatic leaves and roots, such as leaves of *Divul* (Feronia elephantas), *Nuga* (Ficus); roots such as *Kalanduru* (Cyperus); woods such as Sandalwood and other articles as camphor, etc. The origin of *Nanu* and the form of its ceremonial application are described in many incantations. In place of a mixture of medicated juices, boiled lime fruit bruised in water is more frequently used for this purpose. *Nanu* is carried in a *Thetiya* or plate.

There are two preparations of water used for bathing the face and for sprinkling over the body as purificants: one is water in which boiled cows' milk is mixed and the other is water in which the juice of the root of turmeric (*Curcuma longa*) is mixed. These preparations are usually placed in a pot (*kotale*) shaped somewhat in the form of a kettle with a spout from which the water can be poured.

The ashes used for purification purposes are obtained by the incineration of cows' dung. The ash is pure white and is rubbed over the forehead, neck and arms. Ash as a purificant is seldom used in the Sinhalese districts except in connection with ceremonies where Sivite influence predominates.

Incense is made of ground resin thrown over red hot charcoal, aromatic gums are sometimes used for this purpose, but ground resin or *dummala* is the article which is commonly used.

The decorations of the dancing places are carried out in accordance with prescribed forms, each division of dancers has its own form of decoration. In the case of the planetary gods, images of the planets and their attendant spirits are made of clay and painted over and placed in the shed where the dances take place. There are a large number of combinations of such images made and coloured in accordance with definite rules laid down for their construction. In connection with dances

dedicated to benevolent spirits and evil spirits we have a number of typical decorative forms: plantain stalks, tender coconut leaves and flowers are the main articles with which the decorations are made. The gateway or a *torana* is constructed facing the dancing shed. Behind the *torana* (gateway) is constructed the *veediya* or the passage.

The following description of the construction and decoration of a place where ceremonial dances are held can be taken as typical. There are slight variations in accordance with the form of the ceremony.

After the site is selected the first ceremony is that of planting the first pillar, or post for the building. It is carried out to the accompaniment of many rites and incantations. The pole selected is a smooth and straight one, it is decorated with tender coconut leaves, flowers and coconut fruits and covered on the top with a new earthenware water pot. The following verses describe in some detail a *Kapa* or post and the method of planting it.

31 තැඹිලි බොදිලි ගින් වටුද තල් පොල් කිතුල් වටු බැද සොඳේ
නොමැලි හැකි දෙතලු පුවක් වටු බෝතිරිද ඉඳි වටු බැ ඳේ
බැබලි මුතුසේ සහල් සොලසක් පුද කප මුල නිවර ඳේ
නොමැලි හැකි ලෙඩ අතුරන් ගෙන් දෙහොස බැස මිණිහි
බිඳු ලෙ ඳේ

32 සිටුවන්ඩ කප තුන්ලොවේ දෙවියන්ට තුන්විට දෙස් කියා ලා
තුන් වලල්ලක් මඹුම මැද්දේ දසදිගට අ වඩා ලා
කෙප් සටහර නිදන් කොරුමට රන් රිදී පදුරන් පුදු ලා
සිටුවාපු කප සියම දැනගණ දෙලොස් බාගේ ගි කියා ලා

Decking with bunches of *Tembili* (king coconuts) *Gin* nuts, (*Nipa* palm) and *Kitul* (*Caryota* palm) nuts and bunches of *dotalu* (*Toxococus* palm), arecanut and *Indi* (*Phœnix*).

And offering twelve handfuls of pearly rice grains at the foot of the post.

So that all the ills of evil influences may disappear like a drop of dew.

The post is planted after hailing three times the gods of the three worlds.

And hailing long life by proclaiming in the ten directions while going three times round the post.

And offering tributes of gold and silver on the foundation when the pole is planted.

The post is planted in a proper manner after incanting the twelve forms of songs.

The first construction and decoration is the gateway or *torana*. The height of the gateway is seven spans and six inches, *i.e.*, 69 inches, and the breadth is six spans and three inches (57 inches). Nine arches made on the sides and eight doorways are constructed and in the four corners four flagstaffs are placed, decorated on the top with three circles of tender coconut leaves.

ගත් උස සත් වියත් සානුල් වේ අඟු ලා
මෙන්වට පුදුල සවියන් ලකුණු තුනඟු ලා
වත් දුන බදින රඹපත් තොරණ සත බ ලා
යුත් තෙද පතිනියන්ගට තොරණ මුල් කා ලා

නව තොන වංගු නවයක් ගැණුලා බඳී නී
අට තොන දෙරටු වාසල් අට බැඳ ගණී නී
සිව් තොන සතර කුඹ සිටුවාලා රුවැ නී
කුඹ මුදුනන් තුම්මල් තෙඩි තේ බඳී නී

A *torana* for kings is decorated with gold, for brahmans with gems, for merchants with cloth and for others with tender plantain leaves. As regards the colour scheme, the top arch is draped in red, the second in blue and third in white, the terminals are surmounted with four golden pinnacles.

Next to the *torana* comes *vidiya* or passage, where the dances take place. There are eight entrances to the *vidiya* in the eight corners, each entrance being 48 inches; 26 stands are made within the *vidiya*, at equal distances, for placing offerings and eight trays of flowers are placed on the ground in the eight corners and 24 pots filled with flowers and with lighted lamps are placed around the *vidiya*.

On one side of the dancing shed a seat is made for the accommodation of the person on whose behalf the ceremony is performed.

A figure is drawn with ashes and rice grains in the form of two squares placed across each other, so that the angles of each square will form distinct triangles, thus making eight connected triangles known as *atamagala*. For an ordinary person a low wooden stool covered with a mat is placed as a seat backed with a rice pounder placed behind. For those of rank a special seat is constructed rising in seven tiers. The ground floor of the seat is 68 inches each side, the next one is 60 inches, the next 50 inches, the fourth is 40 inches, the fifth 35 inches, the sixth 28 inches and the seventh 18 inches.

Offerings usually consist of lights, flowers, leaves, grain, cooked food, roasted meats and live animals.

Lights consist of single wick heart-shaped lamps where vegetable oils, or ghee is burnt. There are also square lamps made of metal or clay with four wicks and lamps made of metal, usually of brass, with 7 wicks. Small slender torches made by wrapping cotton rags on a length of bamboo or wood splinter and dipped in vegetable oil are also used. Large sized torches similarly made and lighted are carried in the hands of dancers, sometimes a single one is used in one hand and often two lighted torches in both hands. The effect of the light is intensified by throwing ground resin on to the flames of these torches, the flashes caused by the burning of the ground resin is directed to give the effect of what may be called a heaped fire. The dancers sometimes use an additional three-pronged lighted torch carried in their mouths.

Wild flowers of varied colours are used as offerings to spirits. The flower of the coconut and the arecanut palm are largely used, and the red ixora flower, the orange coloured champac flower, the highly scented myristic flower (*rukmal*), the white jasmine and Idda (*Wrightea*) and the blue gentian are commonly used.

The betel leaf (Chavica) forms an important part of the offerings made, other leaves that are offered are *Tolobo* (*Crinum asiaticum*) and *Heressa* (*Vitis quadrangularis*). Grains of husked rice and millets are also placed with the flowers and leaves as offerings.

In regard to cooked foods, rice cooked in coconut milk or cows' milk and rice cakes and sweets are common offerings made to planetary spirits and benevolent spirits. Evil spirits are offered blood and meats usually roasted and burnt, the smell of which is believed to be more attractive to them than the more delicate foods offered to the higher spirits.

Live animals are often offered to evil spirits, a goat forms a quadruped offering and a fowl a biped offering. Sometimes the dancer offers himself as an offering to the evil spirit in place of a patient who is supposed to be under his influence.

The music at these dances consists of a reed flute blown similar to a sharp whistle said to attract evil spirits. A chank shell is blown in honour of planetary gods and higher spirits.

Three kinds of drums are used as music offerings as well as for keeping time in the dances. The *udekki* is a small drum about a foot in length and narrowed in the middle of the trunk, the leather is stretched on the two faces of the drum and is kept together by a series of strings which by being held with the closed fist at the narrowed portion of the trunk can be loosened or tightened with the fingers while the drum is being played with one hand. A second kind of drum is the *geta bera*, a large sized drum about two and a half feet in length with the centre bulging out and narrowing towards the two ends, the faces of the drum are fitted with leather and strung with string made of hide. The third is the long, cylindrical drum, about a foot in diameter and three feet in length, fitted with leather on each face and strung together with hide strings which can be tightened to vary the sounds. These drums make the loudest of noise when played with the palms and the fingers. The art of playing the drums has been very carefully cultivated and requires considerable practice. There are two hundred and sixteen different tunes described in the books, from the simplest to a complicated combination of tunes, and the shortest to the longest, and slowest to the loudest. There are

tunes that are played as a music offering to the spirits both good and evil and tunes that are played as an accompaniment to incantations and dances.

The only other musical instrument indicated in ceremonial dances is a string instrument played with a string bow known as a *Vinawa*, but it is very seldom used at present, the dancers only using an imitation of it made in wood and make a pretence of playing it.

Next come bells and jingles. A hand bell used by a dancer is sounded as a music offering to planetary gods and benevolent spirits. Bells are not used when the dance is connected with evil spirits. Dancers always wear bunches of jingles round their ankles, which sound as they step out, they also wear hollow metal armlets filled with loose beads of metal. In certain ceremonies dancers carry metal discs in each hand and beat them to keep time, these are known as *talam*.

The dresses worn by those taking part in dances are varied according to the nature of the dance. The players on the drums wear a short white cloth round their loins with a broad band of turkey-red cloth round their waists, they tie a white turban round their heads with the two ends of the turban cloth hanging down. They also wear earrings and armlets, and in the body they often wear metal or bead chains.

Those who take part in dances connected with planetary gods and devas or higher spirits usually tie a folded red or white cloth round their heads with ends hanging down. A white cloth is worn on the loins with a large number of pleats and often secured in the form of loose pants. A folded waistcloth is tied round the waist and a short-sleeved coloured or white jacket is worn over the upper part of the body, sometimes its place is taken by bead or metal strings. In other ceremonial dances various forms of head-dresses are used, from a coloured or ornamented cap to crowns made of metal or palm leaves and bunches of long strips of tender leaves of the coconut palm worn in the form of loose hanging hair. The jackets worn are coloured and

embroidered. Over tight-fitting pants are worn embroidered pleated skirts, red and blue. Some of these skirts are made with a number of circles of frills from the waist downwards. In certain forms of ceremonial dances a series of masks are used.

These masks are worn to represent different evil spirits. The largest of these masks are worn to represent *Rakshasas*—cruel, hideous and powerful spirits who are believed to cause sickness. Large tusk-like teeth, prominent bulging eyes, and hideous representations of hoods of serpents form the main features of these masks The dancers who wear these make vigorous movements and represent the hideousness of the *Rakshasas* in their dances.

In one form of ceremony known as *Sanni Samayama* the evil spirits that cause diseases are represented in a series of eighteen different masked forms. All possible illnesses come under one of these eighteen classifications and each of the evil spirits is made to appear in its appropriate dress and mask and to receive offerings from the hands of the patient.

The eighteen forms are:—

Buta	...	Delirium
Abuta	...	Prostration
Amukku	...	Shivering
Vedi	...	Fits
Vata	...	Paralytic
Bihiri	...	Insomnia
Kana	...	Ulcers
Pith	...	Billious
Golu	...	Ferocious
Kola	...	Swollen Throat
Murtu	...	Deadly
Demala	...	Disease of the stomach
Naga	...	Disease of the glands
Kora	...	Lame
Ginijal	...	High fever
Gulma	...	Abdominal pains
Sitala	...	Cold shivers
Deva	...	Hypnotic

There are a number of articles used in ceremonial dances for invoking blessings on those on whose behalf the ceremonies are performed. These are the insignia or special weapons dedicated to each of the spirits:—

The Goddess Pattini has the anklet and the mango fruit. Kartikaya or Kataragama, the sword. Vishnu, the golden bow and arrow. Dedimunda, the club, etc.

A pot in which flowers are placed, known as *punkalasa* or filled pot, a white or silk cloth (*Saluwa*), a branch of mango leaves, and sometimes the leaves of the *Burulla* (Lea) are also used with appropriate incantations.

The fruit of the lime is cut with a *Gira* (arecanut cutter), to the accompaniments of charms and incantations as a special means of counteracting spells.

Another article used in counteracting spells and evil influences is an earthenware pot known as *Púnawa*. A *púnawa* is made in the shape of a leopard's head, with twelve spouts and seven ridges with seven hoods of snakes. Twigs from five species of citrus, five kinds of flowers, five kinds of oils, five kinds of wax, five kinds of spice, resins, camphor and lights are offered to the *púnava*. After incantations the vessel is placed on the back of a red bull and taken to a river or a lake, the *púnava* is immersed and broken when it is under water.

The ceremony and the offerings are somewhat peculiar and it is believed to remove in particular the evils resulting from false oaths. It is mentioned that the ceremony was introduced at the time of King Pandukabhaya about four centuries before the Christian era, and was performed to ward off a sickness from which the king was suffering at the time. It is interesting to note that the king's illness was attributed to evils consequent of a predecessor of his, King Vijaya, breaking the oath he made before he married the Yakka princess Kuveni. Subsequently Vijaya discarded Kuveni in spite of his oath and married a Royal princess from Madura. The curse that fell on the line of the first Sinhalese king is believed to have affected even his successors.

During ceremonial dances reference is made to various forms of games and sport and sometimes they are acted in the dances. The games of coconut throwing and horn pulling, *Polkeliya* and *Ankeliya*, which were very popular among the Sinhalese at one time, were connected with the ceremonies of goddess Pattini.

Horn pulling at one time had become a very popular game and inhabitants of whole villages were divided into two sides even from their birth and the game was an annual one, where thousands gathered to witness it, or take part in it. Robert Knox describes the game and its popularity in the following passage:—"The manner of the game is thus: they have two crooked sticks like elbows, one hooked into the other so with contrivances, they pull with ropes until the one break the other, some siding with one stick some with the other: but never is money laid on either side. Upon the breaking of the stick the party that hath won doth not a little rejoice."

4. His Excellency in thanking Mr. W. A. de Silva, said: that as nobody had anything to say he would like to make a few remarks himself. I have been greatly interested in all that Mr. Silva had to say because I have seen many of these dances here and I have been struck with not only the dresses of the dancers but by the steps which they take. They have very similar steps to those which I have seen in many other places besides Ceylon and I was wondering whether Mr. de Silva was going to make any remarks in connection with those steps whether they were in existence here for a number of years or whether the dancers from time to time introduced new ones. I cannot help thinking there may have been some connection many years ago between the dances in Ceylon and possibly in parts of India with those I have seen in all parts of Africa. I was watching on the last occasion the Perahera in Kandy given in honour of the Crown Prince of Japan and the Crown Prince himself asked me whether these steps were of long existence here or whether they had been introduced quite lately in Ceylon because they very closely resembled those he had seen in Japan and they closely resembled the steps I had seen in many parts of Africa, especially the South. It is interesting and I cannot help believing myself that they had been introduced to the north part of Africa from India and possibly from Ceylon or Zanzibar. We know that years ago and even up to the present time there was a great deal of inter-communication between Zanzibar and Ceylon. I have seen many head-dresses in many parts of Ceylon. Then again as regards drums I can't help thinking that either the West must have copied from the East, because the military drum is a very similar article to the one which I see here. It is almost a similar type to the ordinary military kettle drum because I cannot help thinking that the military drum must have taken its shape and formation and system

from the drums in the East here. Generally speaking from the many similarities with regard to these dances and the forms and articles worn there must have been in my opinion some connection in the old days between the dances of the East and those I have seen in Africa, and particularly in the anklets, which are precisely similar to those which I have seen in some of the tribes on the East coast of Africa. The dresses too, worn by the dancers, are so very similar. I should myself like to know from Mr. de Silva whether he is of opinion that it would be possible that first of all these steps of the dances have been handed down from past generations or whether it is that as the dances go on from time to time they alter the dances and introduce new steps. Personally I am of opinion that they must have come down from some very ancient time. We must all agree that Mr. de Silva's lecture has been a very excellent one, and he has introduced us to things which make us understand these dances which one does not ordinarily look upon beyond the ugly side. We see now there is a ceremonial connection with them which I had not understood before. I am enlightened now in connection with a great deal of these ceremonies. I understand things now which I did not understand before and which must have been very interesting to the audience here to-night.

Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam proposed a vote of thanks to His Excellency the Governor for his kindness in honouring the Society with his presence and presiding on this occasion and for the interesting contribution which he had made to the subject of the lecture.

Replying to a query of His Excellency as to whether the Kettle-drum such as exhibited to-day was borrowed by the West from the East or *vice versa*, Sir Ponnambalam said that military drums, music and flags passed into Europe from the East during the wars of the Crusades. Not only these and other external symbols of Eastern civilization, but, as Green says in his History of the English people, a great intellectual impulse was given to the West by its contact with the more civilized East. The establishment of the great schools which bore the name of Universities was, he says, everywhere throughout Europe the special mark of the new impulse that Christendom gained from the Crusades, and the long mental inactivity of feudal Europe was broken up like ice before a summer's sun.

On the subject of dancing, there was a great difference in the point of view between Eastern and Western nations. In Europe, at least in modern times, dancing is regarded as a light form of recreation indulged in by young people through sheer *joie de vivre*. But among ancient nations, both in the West and the East, a dance was a very solemn religious ceremony. A primitive people, when they wanted sun or wind or rain, did not go to church and ask their gods for it, but summoned their tribe and danced a sun dance or a wind dance or a rain dance. When they wanted to hunt and catch a bear, they rehearsed the hunt in a bear dance. Even in modern times (as Dr. Frazer has mentioned in his great book: "The Golden Bough") in many parts of Germany, Austria and Macedonia, the peasant thinks he can make the corn or the flax grow by dancing or leaping high and throwing his spade up into the air and exclaiming, "Let the crop grow as high as the spade has gone." This feeling shows itself nowadays when you watch an exciting game of tennis or billiards and you find a

spectator doing in sheer sympathy the thing he wants done by the player, reaching out his arm where the billiard cue should go or raising a leg to help the ball over the net.

Sir Ponnambalam had hoped that the lecturer would have touched on and developed this line of thought of dancing as a sort of prayer or sympathetic magic. He hoped that the lecturer might do so in the next lecture he has promised. He will find much material in the works of Dr. Frazer, W. Robertson Smith, Professor Gilbert Murray, Miss Jane Harrison and others.

The vote of thanks to His Excellency the Governor was carried with acclamation.

The following paper by Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D., F.R.C.S., was read at a meeting of the Society held on February 20th, 1919:—"The Overlordship of Ceylon in the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries." *

* *Vide* Vol. XXVIII., No. 72, page 1.

THE OVERLORDSHIP OF CEYLON IN THE THIRTEENTH, FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES.

Before proceeding to describe the political conditions of Ceylon in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, it would be instructive to take a rapid survey of the more striking features of Ceylon and South Indian history during the three preceding centuries.

From the beginning of the tenth to the middle of the twelfth century the Cholians had established their supremacy in Southern India, ousting the Pandyans, who had hitherto exercised paramount power. Ceylon also claimed their share of attention. In 983 A.D. the Cholian king sent a large army across, captured the king and queen, devastated the whole country, and appointed a Cholian Governor at Polonnaruwa. For nearly eighty years the Cholians continued to exercise sovereignty over the whole Island. At last Wijaya Bahu I., a lineal descendant of Mahinda V., raised the standard of revolt, and after having made himself master of the Rohana district, solicited the aid of the king of Ramanna. The king of Ramanna, however, was unable to render any help, beyond sending him large presents of cloths, camphor, and sandalwood. By making gifts of these to his warriors he gained their complete confidence and support, and was thus able to check to a great extent the Cholian aggression. When the chiefs of Pihiti Rata recognised the growing power of Wijaya Bahu, they threw in their lot with him; and Wijaya Bahu, with the support thus gained, was able to completely defeat the Cholians, and driving them out of his country had himself crowned as king at Polonnaruwa. One of his successors, Parakrama Bahu the Great, grandson of a Pandyan prince on his father's side and a maternal grandson of Wijaya Bahu, became so powerful that he not only brought the whole

of Ceylon under one canopy, but was also able to render substantial help to his Pandyan relations, that enabled them to throw off the yoke of the Cholians, who for two and a half centuries had kept them in complete subjection. The repeated marriage connections of this family with the Kalinga or Telugu dynasty brought about its ruin. For nearly half a century the throne was occupied by Kalinga kings and queens, until at last it passed into the hands of Kalinga usurpers.

In the beginning of the thirteenth century another Wijaya Bahu (Wijaya Bahu III.), a descendant of the Sri Sango Bo dynasty, established himself in the Maya Rata district, and became the saviour of the Sinhalese. He expelled the invaders from the Maya Rata district, and reigned as king for four years, having as his capital Dambadeniya. But it was left to his son, another Parakrama Bahu, to restore tranquillity and rid the country of all foreign usurpers, and thus bring Ceylon under one rule. During his reign there were two foreign invasions. In his eleventh year a Malay prince, known as Canda Bhanu, landed in various parts of the Island, deceiving the people, saying, "We are also Buddhists." The king's nephew, Vira Bahu, defeated him in various pitched battles, and drove him out of the country. In the latter part of this king's reign, when his son Wiyaya Bahu IV. assumed the responsibilities of the Government, another invasion took place in the northern part of the Island. This, I think, is wrongly attributed by the *Mahawansa* to the same Malay prince, Canda Bhanu, who invaded Ceylon some twenty years previously. He is said to have collected a great number of Tamil strong men from Pandu and Chola countries and landed at Mahatittha (the present Mantota) with a host of Malays. According to contemporary Madura history, Sundara Pandyan, who reigned between 1251 and 1261 A.D., and who was thus a contemporary of Parakrama Bahu II., is said to have invaded Ceylon and carried off a large booty. The *Mahawansa* has apparently confounded Sundara Pandyan's

invasion with that of Canda Bhanu's owing to a phonetic similarity of the two names. It is very unlikely that a Malay prince who was of a different nationality and religion would have been able to enlist the sympathies of the Hindu Pandyans and Cholians so as to collect a large force to invade Ceylon. As no mention is made of Sundara Pandyan's invasion in the *Mahawansa*, and as about this period an invasion of the northern part of Ceylon by a large Tamil force consisting of Pandyans and Cholians under Canda Bhanu is described by the *Mahawansa*, I am of opinion that these two events are identical, and that the *Mahawansa* author has mistaken Canda Bhanu for Sundara Pandyan. There was peace during the remaining part of Parakrama Bahu's reign. Just before he died he gave the following message to his sons:—"Now what my father gave me was the one country of Maya only. And after I had taken charge thereof, I have conquered two other countries and included again all the three kingdoms under one canopy." (*Mahawansa*, chap. 87, pp. 24, 25.) It is a remarkable coincidence in Ceylon history that Parakrama Bahu I. should have brought the whole of Ceylon under one rule after the Cholian occupation, while Parakrama Bahu II. performed a similar feat after the Kalinga occupation; and in both instances a Wijaya Bahu starts the initiative of clearing the foreign invaders, which is completed by a Parakrama Bahu.

The suzerainty thus established does not however appear to have lasted very long. Within three years of the death of Parakrama Bahu II., the nation suffered a crushing defeat from a very unexpected quarter, as a result of which for nearly two hundred years it remained in subjection. This blow was dealt by the little kingdom of Jaffna in the northern part of the Island. The kingdom was at first bestowed as a gift by one of the Sinhalese kings on a Tamil bard called Yalpanan about the year 795 A.D. He is said to have brought colonists from Southern India and reigned over them. At his death the Tamil colonists invited a Cholian Prince then

living at Madura to take possession of the vacant throne. This prince, who was at first known as Singa Ariyan, was subsequently known as Kulankai Ariya Chakravarti, and his successors on the throne of Jaffna bore the general appellation of Ariya Chakravarti. Although the *Vaipavamalai*, or the history of Jaffna, professes to give a list of the kings of Jaffna from Kulankai Ariya Chakravarti to Sankili, the last king, who was deposed by the Portuguese, such a list cannot be regarded as a complete one. From 948 A.D., when Kulankai Ariya Chakravarti is said to have come to the throne, till 1620 A.D., when Sankili was deposed by the Portuguese, there are mentioned the names of only thirteen sovereigns. This gives on an average of fifty-two years to each of them, a period suggesting too great a longevity of life. Obviously the names of the more important kings have been mentioned. This little kingdom of Jaffna, lying outside the territories of the Sinhalese, and being more or less isolated from the rest of the Island, was left unmolested by its neighbours, and it gradually developed its resources without any outside interference. In the middle of the thirteenth century, when Bhuvaneka Bahu I. ascended the throne at Yapahu, Jayavira Singa Ariya Chakravarti was king of Jaffna, while Manavarma Kulasekara Pandyan occupied the Madura throne. Perhaps the kingdom of Jaffna had extended its sway over the district of Mantota in the previous king's reign. When Sundara Pandyan invaded Ceylon in the closing years of Parakrama Bahu's reign, and carried away a large booty, the king of Jaffna saw his opportunity to add Mantota to his kingdom. The adjoining pearl banks would naturally form the subject of dispute. And when Bhuvaneka Bahu ascended the throne, Jayavira Singa Ariya Chakravarti asserted his right over the pearl fisheries. The secluded position of Jaffna, the natural conditions of seaboard with its comparatively calm seas, and the numerous little islands round it, provided ample opportunities for the training of a good navy, and this had gradually become more and more powerful. Relying

chiefly on his navy, Jayavira Ariya Chakravarti declared war. As the *Vaiparamalai* puts it, "This celebrated young king had a misunderstanding with Bhuvaneka Bahu, King of Kandy, touching the pearl fishery. Both kings rushed to arms and after severe losses on both sides victory declared itself in favour of Jayavira Singa Ariya. The victor became master of the territories of the vanquished, and one flag, the flag of Yalpanam, waved over the whole of Lanka." (*Vaiparamalai*, Brito's translation, p. 22.) The writer of the history of Jaffna refers to Bhuvaneka Bahu as the king of Kandy, because at the time this history was written (1736 A.D.) the Sinhalese kings had their capital at Kandy and were therefore known as kings of Kandy. The *Mahawansa* gives an account of the invasion of Ceylon by a general called Ariya Chakravarti, during the time of Bhuvaneka Bahu I., in which the capital Yapahu was sacked. The accounts given by the *Vaiparamalai* and the *Mahawansa* differ a great deal in the details, and for purposes of comparison I am quoting the passages of the *Mahawansa* referring to this incident in full:—"Then the five brethren who ruled the Pandyan kingdom sent to this Island at the head of an army a great minister of much power, who was chief among the Tamils, known as Ariya Chakravarti, albeit he was not an Ariya. And when he had landed and laid waste the country on every side, he entered the noble fortress, the city of Subhagiri. And he took the venerable tooth-relic, and all the solid wealth that was there, and returned to the Pandyan country. And there he gave the tooth-relic unto the king Kulasekara, who was even like unto a sun expanding the lotus-like race of the Pandyan kings." (*Mahawansa*, chap. xc., vv. 43-47.) The author of the *Mahawansa* ascribes the invasion to the initiative of Kulasekara, the Pandyan king, and states that a general of his sacked Yapahu and carried the tooth-relic to him, while the *Vaiparamalai* states that it was a war waged by Jayavira Singa Ariya Chakravarti of Jaffna, the *casus belli* being the pearl fisheries, and in which he

inflicted such a crushing defeat that the whole of Lanka was brought under his rule. Continuing the account, the *Vaipavamalai* goes on to say:—"That this state of things continued for twelve years when the king of Jaffna restored the kingdom of Kandy to Bhuvaneka Bahu on his undertaking to pay a tribute. This amicable arrangement was brought about by the Pandyan, who personally guaranteed the due payment of the tribute by the king of Kandy: and Kandy continued to be a tributary of the kingdom for a number of successive reigns." (*Vaipavamalai*, Brito's translation, p. 22.) The corresponding *Mahawansa* account is as follows:—"And now he (*i.e.*, Parakrama Bahu IV.) began to consider within himself by what means he would be able to get the tooth-relic of the great sage, which all his ancestors before him had adored, from the Pandyan country whither it had been taken. And when he saw there was none other means but conciliation, the lord of the land proceeded with a certain number of crafty and strong men, and went up to the Pandyan country and presented himself before the king of Pandu. And he pleased him exceedingly every day by his pleasant conversation, so that he obtained the tooth-relic from his hands" (Chap. xc., vv. 50-56).

Before proceeding further it is necessary to be clear in our minds that the accounts quoted from the *Vaipavamalai* and the *Mahawansa* refer to the same events. The *Vaipavamalai* speaks of a King Bhuvaneka Bahu who was succeeded by a Parakrama Bahu. In the list of Sinhalese kings we have four such successions, viz.:—

(1) Bhuvaneka Bahu I. and Parakrama Bahu III.—1273 A.D.—1289 A.D.

(2) Bhuvaneka Bahu II. and Parakrama Bahu IV.—1289 A.D.—1324 A.D.?

(3) Bhuvaneka Bahu IV. and Parakrama Bahu V.—1344 A.D.—1362 A.D.?

(4) Bhuvaneka Bahu VI. and Parakrama Bahu VIII. 1462 A.D.—1469 A.D.

Of these the kings of the first and second groups follow each other in succession. When Ibn Batuta, the Arabian traveller, visited Ceylon in 1344 A.D., he describes Ariya Chakravarti as the Sultan of Ceylon at that time. The account refers to a period anterior to the reign of Bhuvaneka Bahu IV., who reigned at Gampola in 1347 A.D. The Jaffna account might either apply to the kings of the first or second group. The dates of the accession of these four kings who succeeded each other are matters of speculation, as we have no reliable data to go upon. The *Mahawansa* refers to a Pandyan king Kulasekara, while the *Vaipavamalai* speaks of the intervention of the Pandyan king. According to Madura history a king Kulasekara reigned from 1268 A.D. to 1308 A.D., and we are therefore justified in concluding that these events took place during the reign of Kulasekara of Madura. If we had any reliable date of the accession of Bhuvaneka Bahu I., the synchronism would be complete. Unfortunately the Ceylon chronology of this period is extremely vague, and the usual accredited dates of the various writers vary a great deal. The *Attanagaluvansa* states that Parakrama Bahu II. came to the throne 1,824 years after the attainment of Buddhahood by Gautama, and, as Mr. Bell suggests in his Kegalla Report (p. 77), he must have come to the throne in 1236 A.D., calculating that Gautama attained his Buddhahood in his forty-fifth year. According to the *Mahawansa* he reigned thirty-five years, and his son Wijaya Bahu reigned two years, so that we arrive at the date 1236 plus 35 plus 2, or 1273 as the date of accession of Bhuvaneka Bahu I. King Kulasekara was thus a contemporary of Parakrama Bahu II., Wijaya Bahu IV., Bhuvaneka Bahu I., Parakrama Bahu III., Bhuvaneka Bahu II. and Parakrama Bahu IV. The date given by the *Vaipavamalai* is inconsistent with these dates and carries these events three centuries later. According to the *Vaipavamalai* the misunderstanding between the king of Jaffna and Bhuvaneka Bahu is said to have taken place in 1380 saka, or 1458 A.D. Now we know

from contemporary history that about 1458 A.D. Jaffna was conquered by Sapumal Kumaraya in the reign of Parakrama Bahu VI., when the power of the Ariya Chakravartis was finally shattered. It is not unusual for later writers in describing events of an earlier period to ascribe to the commencement of an event the date of its termination. In the *Rajavaliya*, for instance, Wijaya Bahu is said to have been carried away captive in the year of Buddha 1958 on the seventh day of the moon, in the month of May, on Thursday, under asterism Phusa (p. 266, Upham's translation of *Rajavaliya*, Vol. II.) 1958 A.B. or 1414 A.D. is the year in which Parakrama Bahu VI. was crowned at Cotta. But we are distinctly told in the *Rajavaliya* account that when Wijaya Bahu was taken captive Parakrama Bahu was an infant in arms, and that when he was proclaimed king at Rayigama three years before he came to Cotta, he was sixteen years old. In describing how the priest Visidagama took the young prince before the people and proclaimed him king at Rayigama, the *Rajavaliya* author goes on to say: "He caused the young prince to be brought unknown to Kiswara and on the seventh day of the moon, in the month of May, under the asterism Phusa, he delivered him to the people as their lawful prince." The synchronism of the day of the moon, the month, and the asterism for two events, which must have occurred with at least an interval of fourteen years, is remarkable. It is obvious that the author of the *Rajavaliya* had got mixed up in his chronology and had given the terminal date 1958 A.B. when Parakrama Bahu was crowned at Cotta as the year in which Wijaya Bahu was carried away captive. I am therefore of opinion that the author of the *Vaipavamalai* has fallen into a similar error, and has given the terminal date 1380 saka as the year of commencement of the great series of events which started with the establishment of the suzerainty of Jaffna over the rest of Ceylon and ended with the capture of Jaffna.

On the other hand it is also probable that 1380 saka

is a mistake of the copyists of the original manuscripts for 1180. The Tamil numerals 1 and 3 are sometimes indistinguishable, especially when written with a style on an ola leaf. ௧ stands for 1 and ௩ stands for 3, and are, if illegible, easily confounded. If we accept 1180 as the correct date for this event, and as according to the *Vaiparamalai* the flag of Jaffna waved over the whole Island for twelve years before Parakrama Bahu III. concluded a treaty of peace, we arrive at the date 1180 plus 12, or 1192 saka or 1270 A.D. as the year in which the treaty was concluded. As King Kulasekara became king in Madura in 1268, his intervention would have been secured in the second year of his reign. We have already seen from contemporary records that Parakrama Bahu II. was still on the throne in 1270 A.D., and that Bhuvaneka Bahu could not have come to the throne until after 1273 A.D. The Jaffna date as thus modified would be wrong by some twenty-six years. I am therefore inclined to the first view that the date given by the *Vaiparamalai* represents the terminal date of this long series of events which, commencing in the reign of Bhuvaneka Bahu I., terminated in the reign of Parakrama Bahu VI.

We have now to decide as to which of the two accounts bears the impress of truth. The *Mahawansa* ascribes the victory to one Ariya Chakravarti, an able general of King Kulasekara of Pandya, who, after sacking the noble city of Subhagiri, carried away the tooth-relic and gave it to King Kulasekara, who is said "to resemble a sun expanding the lotus-like race of the Pandyas." In the first place no record of an invasion of Ceylon that took place in the reign of King Kulasekara is mentioned in the Madura history. If such an event had taken place, the history of Madura would have mentioned it prominently, because an invasion of Ceylon that took place in the reign of Sundara Pandyan, a contemporary of Parakrama Bahu II., is referred to as a chief incident of his reign. It must also be borne in mind that this invasion of Ceylon by Sundara Pandyan which, according to Madura history, resulted in his

carrying off a large booty, is, as I have already shown, referred to in the *Mahawansa* as an invasion of Canda Bhanu, which was successfully repelled by Parakrama Bahu. There is greater reason, therefore, that a decisive defeat acknowledged even by the *Mahawansa* should find prominent mention in the History of Madura. It is difficult to believe that the priestly writer of this portion of the *Mahawansa* seriously believed in the account he wrote. The tooth-relic was, and is still, held in such veneration that any attempt to carry it away would be characterised as the basest sacrilege, not only by the priests, but even by the laity. Imprecations and curses would be invoked on the head of the man who made such an attempt or who instigated such an act. But, strangely enough, the writer of this part of the Mahawansa refers to the king who caused the tooth-relic to be removed and brought to him, and who, besides, had plundered the capital of all its solid wealth, "as a sun that expands the lotus-like race of the Pandyas." It is evident that the writer knew that the tooth-relic was not removed by any general of the king, and the praise he accords to him in speaking of him as the sun that expands the lotus-like race of the Pandyas is, I believe, an unconscious tribute by the author to the part played by this king in bringing about an amicable settlement later. The author had sought to confuse and suppress facts. It is very significant in this connection to note that the *Mahawansa* carefully abstains from making any reference to the kings of Jaffna in any of its pages. No mention is made of the great and successful effort made by Alagakkonara against the armies of the Ariya Chakravartis of Jaffna, neither is any reference made to the glorious victory achieved by Sapumal Kumaraya in the reign of Parakrama Bahu VI., when he victoriously entered Jaffna and made it a tributary province of Cotta. This event was at that time considered to be of such great national importance, that it has been celebrated in more than one poetical composition of no mean order. The contemporary work, the *Nikaya Sangrahawa*,

referring to the victory obtained by Alagakkonara over the king of Jaffna, says that "he was praised by many a poet and that he was admitted into the circle of the five ranks of princes." The *Rajavaliya* and Valentine's History of the Island give due prominence to these events. It is therefore natural to inquire why the chief history of the Island is silent as regards these events. The author had chopped up the history of this period and had expurgated from it all that did not fit in with his view of what the history should have been. It should not have been made possible for a small kingdom to have imposed its authority and suzerainty over a large and mighty Island for such a number of years. When this part of the *Mahawansa* was composed, Jaffna had become a small province, and its power had been completely shattered, that the author felt that he could wipe off the grim memory of that suzerainty without any compunction.

The *Mahawansa* refers to Ariya Chakravarti as "an able general of King Kulasekara." Now the word "chakravarti" signifies emperor, and no Oriental potentate ever assumed the title unless he had one or more tributary kings under him. It is not likely that King Kulasekara would permit a general of his to assume a title higher than his own, nor is it probable that an emperor of a kingdom would take service under a king as his general. The *Vaipavamalai* asserts that the kings of Jaffna wielded supreme power over the whole of Ceylon, and the Sinhalese kings paid tribute to them. This is corroborated by a contemporary Arabian historian, Ibn Batuta. There is also the indirect testimony of the Sinhalese poetical and religious writers who flourished about this time. From the time this suzerainty was established, the kings of Jaffna were entitled to style themselves chakravartis, and for a period of two hundred years they continued to remain as chakravartis. Since the majority of the kings of Jaffna were chakravartis, the later writers have misapplied this designation to all the kings of Jaffna. When therefore the *Mahawansa*

speaks of an Ariya Chakravarti as an able general of King Kulasekara, the statement is incorrect and misleading.

Another point of some importance is the sequence of historical incidents of this period as related by the *Mahawansa*. Bhuvaneka Bahu I. is said to have reigned eleven years, after which he attained heaven. Then follows an account of an invasion of the Island by Ariya Chakravarti, who plundered and destroyed the capital and carried away the tooth-relic to Madura. "Then," says the *Mahawansa*, "Prince Parakrama Bahu raised the canopy of dominion, went over to Madura, and after getting the tooth-relic from King Kulasekara, returned to the city of Pulatthi, and began to reign over his kingdom." The writer leaves us in doubt as to whether the invasion referred to occurred in the reign of Bhuvaneka Bahu I. or Parakrama Bahu III. It is quite evident that Parakrama Bahu did not commence his reign until after his return to Pulatthi. The *Mahawansa* account implies the existence of an interval of some length between the death of Bhuvaneka Bahu I. and the accession of Parakrama Bahu III. Hitherto it has been accepted that Parakrama Bahu III. succeeded Bhuvaneka Bahu I. at his death, and the dates of accession of their successors have been calculated on this assumption. The *Vaipavamalai* states that an interval of twelve years intervened between the two events, during which the Island was under one flag, the flag of Jaffna. If the *Vaipavamalai* statement is correct, we can understand why the authors of the *Mahawansa* sought to obscure the course of events. Unwilling to record the ignominious defeat sustained by King Bhuvaneka Bahu in the eleventh year of his reign, in which he lost his life and kingdom, he is represented to have attained heaven. Then the account of the invasion of Ariya Chakravarti is introduced, and to mitigate the bitterness of the defeat the story of a famine in the land is suggested, that would lead to the inference that the fighting strength of the Sinhalese armies would have been impaired, rendering

them liable to fall an easy prey to the Tamil forces. But the truth is unconsciously expressed when mention is made of Ariya Chakravarti as an able general, so that it was not really a question of a famine-stricken army beaten in battle by an ordinary enemy, but of an army defeated by an able general. If, as the *Mahawansa* states, the enemy had plundered the capital and gone away to Madura, there was no reason why Parakrama Bahu did not proclaim himself king at once.

Further, the *Mahawansa* speaks of the five brethren who ruled the Pandyan kingdom at the time. The history of Madura, however, does not support this statement. Perhaps the author, when he wrote this account, had in his mind the tradition of the early origin of the Pandyan kings. They traced their origin to the five Pandava brothers of the Mahabharata, who were known in Indian history as the Pancha Pandava brothers.

The *Mahawansa* would have us believe that when Parakrama Bahu III. came to the throne, finding that he could not get the tooth-relic except by conciliation, he went over to the Pandyan kingdom with a few trusted followers, and successfully filled the role of a beggar to beg for the return of the tooth-relic. It is inconceivable that one, among whose immediate predecessors was Parakrama Bahu the Great, who had victoriously invaded South India and asserted his power a little over a century before, would humble himself and humiliate his country by personally going over to his enemy's territory as a supplicant for the restoration of the tooth-relic. Had he so easily forgotten the devastation of his country and his capital? And besides, what guarantee had he that his life would be safe if he ventured into his enemy's capital? The account of the *Mahawansa*, we find, is not supported by contemporary history or writings, neither does the account appear probable. The *Vaipavamalai* account, on the other hand, is a simple and straightforward statement of what took place, without any tendency to exaggeration. If the Sinhalese king had lost his kingdom as a result of a crushing

defeat, what is more natural than for his successor to personally seek the intervention of a neutral monarch? The king of Madura, when thus appealed to, opened negotiations with the king of Jaffna, who agreed to return the vanquished territories on condition that a yearly tribute was paid to him, and that the Pandyan king should stand guarantee for the due fulfilment of the conditions. Further, this account fits in with the subsequent history of the Island as related by the *Rajavaliya* and the *Rajaratnakari*, as well as by Valentyn. The contemporary historical and poetical Sinhalese works also support it. And the account of the Island written by Ibn Batuta, an Arabian traveller, during his visit in 1344 A.D., corroborates this history.

The *Mahawansa* states that King Parakrama Bahu III., "after securing the tooth-relic, returned to the Island of Lanka and placed it in the old temple of the tooth-relic at the noble city of Pulathi. And the lord of the land took up his abode there and began to reign over the kingdom." The return to the old capital of Polonnaruwa was made possible by the peace treaty, by which the lost territories were returned. This state of affairs could not continue very long without friction. His successor, Bhuvaneka Bahu II., did not see any reason why he should be bound down by the humiliating treaty concluded by his predecessor. Jayavira Singa Ariya Chakravarti had been succeeded by Kumarasinga Ariya Chakravarti. When Bhuvaneka Bahu II. refused to pay tribute, Kumarasinga Ariya Chakravarti made war upon the Sinhalese king for neglecting to pay it, and wrested from him a few districts which he added to his kingdom and placed Tamil colonists therein (*Vaipavamalai*, p. 22). No direct reference is made to this event in the *Mahawansa*, but we are led to infer it from the shifting of the capital further south. It states that on the death of Parakrama Bahu, who reigned at Polonnaruwa, "the Prince Bhuvaneka Bahu, the son of Bhuvaneka Bahu, the lord of the city Subagala, became king at Hastisailapura" (Kurunegala). No

reason is assigned for the abandonment of the old and glorious capital, and the shifting of the seat of Government to a new place so far down. I submit that the reason for the change is that which is given by the *Vaipavamalai*. Kurunegala continued to be the capital until 1347 A.D., when Bhuvaneka Bahu IV. was obliged to abandon it for Gampola. During the Kurunegala period, the kings of Jaffna appear to have exercised sovereign powers without further trouble, as is evident from the writings of Ibn Batuta. Parakrama Bahu IV., the son and successor of Bhuvaneka Bahu II., was able to devote his energies to the improvement of the religion and literature of the Island. He invited a great elder from the Cholian country and appointed him as his teacher, and built for him, near Rajagrama, an excellent Vihara. (*Mahawansa*, chap. xc., v. 98.) Was this Cholian the forefather of the illustrious Alagakkonara? The *Nikaya Sangrahawa* (C. M. Fernando's translation) states that Alagakkonara built separate viharas for the Maha Sanga living in villages and forests in the vicinity of his birthright, the city of Rajagrama. Mr. Edward Perera, in his paper on "Alakeswara and his Times," translates the name given in the *Nikaya Sangrahawa* as "Raigampura." Rajagrama is the Sanscritised form of the Elu Rayigama. The *Mayura Sandesa* refers to Alagakkonara as being in residence with his brother at Rayigama before he fought the armies of Ariya Chakravarti. In the Kirtisiri Mewan inscription the Minister Alagakkonara is referred to as the tenth in succession of the lineage of the great Nissanka Alagakkonara (Bell and Gunasekara, *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. I., p. 154). The family would appear to have resided in Ceylon for a number of generations. The Cholian elder, who was appointed the king's teacher, and to whom Rajagrama or Rayigama was given by the king, must have been the ancester of Alagakkonara whose birthright is given as Rajagrama. The family came from Kanchipura, the modern Conjeveram, situated to the south of Madras, which was at one time the seat of a vice-royalty of the

Cholian kingdom. The members of this family are described in contemporary writings as belonging to the Giriwamsa dynasty. In his book on "The Beginnings of South Indian History," Krishnaswamy Ayiyangar refers to a "class of chieftains called Malaiyaman who held the hill country round Tirukkoilur, midway between the Chola kingdom proper and their northern vice-royalty at Kanchi, who were very often loyal supporters of their suzerain, but occasionally truculent and rebellious." Malaiyaman is a Tamil word meaning hill chieftain, and the Alagakkonara family, if they belonged to this Malaiyaman clan, would describe themselves in Ceylon as belonging to the Malai or Giriwamsa. In the latter half of the eighth century there was a vice-regal ruler at Kanchi known as Tondyarkon. (*The Beginnings of South Indian History*, p. 47.) In page 201 of the same book reference is made to two chiefs, Vichellikon and Irungovil. There were therefore "kons" who were ruling chiefs in Kanchi and surrounding districts, and it seems very probable that the Alagakkonara family of Kanchi belongs to these "kons," and that they came over to Ceylon after the Cholian power was broken up by the Pandyans in India in the thirteenth century. The Alagakkonara clan appears to have inter-married to a large extent with the members of the Sinhalese royal families. One Senalankadikara Seniverat sent much wealth, such as pearls and gems, and got a stone image built at Kanchipura. He is described as belonging to the Mehenvara Vamsa, to which the reigning kings of that period belonged, and yet the fact of his sending much wealth to Kanchipura to build a temple would argue his kinship with the Alagakkonara family. The Sagama inscription says that the two brothers "Alakeswara and Devamantiswara.....who are resplendent with much glory which overshone the whole world as if they were the sun and moon illuminating the (two peaks) Yuganthasa and Ishadhara, which resemble their maternal line Ganawasikula, that brought over the branch of the sacred bo-tree, and their paternal line

Mehenvara Vamsa....." These two brothers are here described as having the Ganawasai or Leminikula blood on their maternal side and the Mehenvara Vamsa on their paternal side, and yet they are distinctly stated elsewhere to belong to the Giriwamsa or Kanchipura clan. This clearly proves that this family had closely inter-married with the two branches of the royal families for four or five generations at least, which enabled them to trace their origin by collateral descent to the Mehenvara Vamsa and Leminikula families. Being allied to the royal families, the members of this clan held some of the chief appointments, such as those of prime ministers, and commanders-in-chief of the army under successive kings, and ultimately played an important part in throwing off the yoke of the kings of Jaffna.

Very little information is given of the next three kings who succeeded Parakrama Bahu IV. We do not definitely know in what relationship they stood to each other, nor do we know how long they reigned. There are a few local traditions which give us some information. We are indebted to Ibn Batuta, an Arabian traveller who visited Ceylon in the latter part of 1344 A.D., for much information about this period. He landed at the town of Buttala (the modern Puttalam). On being questioned by the natives as to who he was, he said that he was the brother-in-law and friend of the Sultan of Coromandel. South India was at this time under Mohammadan rule. In the beginning of the fourteenth century the Mohammadans under Malik Kâfur, the general of Alla-ud-din Khalji, Emperor of Delhi, invaded South India for the first time, and overthrowing the existing dynasties had established their rule, which lasted for a period of forty-eight years. In 1365 A.D. they were defeated and their authority overthrown by Kampana Udayar, a general of the Vijayanagara Empire. Ibn Batuta's reference to his brother-in-law, the powerful Sultan of Coromandel, was therefore purposely made to give him a safe passport. He describes the king he met as the Sultan of Ceylon,

called Ariya Chakravarti, who was a very powerful king upon the sea. In one day, when he was on the Coromandel coast, he had seen a hundred ships, both small and great, belonging to the king, arriving in port with merchandise consigned to the port of Yemen. At the interview Ibn Batuta had with Ariya Chakravarti, the king told him that there was an alliance between himself and the Sultan of Coromandel, and that he and his comrades were welcome to land in all safety and be his guests until they depart. The king of Jaffna appears to have had a liberal education, for Ibn Batuta further informs us that the king understood the Persian tongue, and was very interested about the foreign kings whom Ibn Batuta had met. The king showed him large quantities of pearls which he had collected at the pearl fishery and offered him some for his acceptance. Ibn Batuta describes Buttala as the king's capital, but it is obvious that the king must have come down to Buttala and made it his headquarters during the pearl fishery. Ibn Batuta expressed a desire to visit Adam's Peak, when the king said, "It is easy enough, we shall send someone to conduct you." Ibn Batuta went with an escort from the king, passing through Kurunegala on his way to Adam's Peak, and then returned *via* Galle to Colombo, from which port he embarked. Such was the authority of the king that Ibn Batuta was able to pass through the Sinhalese districts without any molestation. Ibn Batuta thus confirms the account of the *Vaipavamalai*, that the king of Jaffna exercised supreme authority over Ceylon, and that the pearl fishery was his control. He also corroborates the *Rajavaliya* account, by stating that he was a powerful king on the sea. The *Mahavansa*, however, is perfectly silent on the matter. On his way to Adam's Peak, Ibn Batuta passes through Conacar (Kurunegala), the residence of the principal king of the Island. According to the Lankatilaka inscription Bhuvaneka Bahu IV. ascended the throne in 1344 A.D. Jaya Bahu II. must have died in the same year. Tradition states that it took the ministers some

time to search for Bhuvaneka Bahu after Jaya Bahu was dead. Ibn Batuta relates that the Sultan of Conacar was known by the name of Conar, and that he possessed the white elephant. It is possible that when Ibn Batuta arrived King Jaya Bahu was dead, and in the interval between his death and the finding of Bhuvaneka Bahu after a long search, the Government was administered by a member of the Alagakkonara family. As Ibn Batuta stayed a day or two at Kurunegala, he would inquire from his guide about the king, and his guide would tell him that a Conar was acting as king, and Ibn Batuta probably gained the impression that Conar was the title of the sovereigns of Kurunegala.

Hugh Nevill (*Taprobanian*, Vol. I., p. 106) says that "according to tradition Jaya Bahu or Wijaya Bahu greatly favoured Mohammadan settlers, called Marakkalayar, who were then very powerful (South India was then under Mohammadan rule) and was himself the son of a Marakalaya lady who was married to his father. After some years of his reign he was decoyed under pretence of a national ceremony to the summit of Etapolakanda, a singular and precipitous rock near Kurunegala. Here by a conspiracy between the Buddhist priests and a few courtiers he was murdered by being suddenly pushed over a precipice, and his half-brother, Bhuvaneka Bahu, was made king. The spirit of the unfortunate king, who is said to have been singularly just and upright, as is indeed shown by his consenting to honour such a national ceremony with his presence, is to this day believed to moan among the rocks, where the scene of the murder is still pointed out. He was greatly regretted by the people, and immediately deified as Gala Bandara Devata to this day. It is not surprising that Buddhist priest who compiled and preserved the *Mahawansa* have omitted the singularly treacherous and atrocious murder perpetrated at the instigation and connivance of some unworthy members of their order. It is however to their credit that they do partial justice to his memory in the *Mahawansa*, alluding to him in

no offensive terms, briefly passing him over as "very powerful." Ibn Batuta refers to another incident which is not recorded in local histories. Speaking of the king at Conacar he says: "The noblest of his empire rebelled against him, blinded him, and made his son king. As for him he still lives in this city deprived of his sight." In support of the tradition that the king favoured the Mohammadans, Ibn Batuta mentions that there was a mosque of the Shaik Ottoman of Shersz outside the town, and that the king and the inhabitants of the place visit him and treat him with high consideration. Pridham, in his History of Ceylon (Vol. II., p. 649), also refers to this tradition, and throws considerable light on the events of that period. He says: "There is a tradition current among the people of the district (Kurunegala) that a natural son of one of the kings who is said to have been the offspring of a Mohammadan woman, succeeded by stratagem in seizing the throne on his father's death (?), over the legitimate heir who, despairing of success, retired into exile. For some time he endeared himself by his beneficence to the country, but subsequently having compromised the privileges of the priesthood and shown a preference to the faith of his mother, Vashthimi Kumaraya, they assembled on the summit of a rock to celebrate a religious ceremony and invited the king to honour it with his presence. On his arrival assassins, who lay in wait, rushed on the usurper and hurled him headlong from the precipice. After the murder of the usurper, the legend runs that the minister made inquiries after the exiled prince, and, according to their custom, caparisoned the state elephant, and sent it blindfolded to trace his retreat, themselves following with the usual appendages of royalty. The sagacious animal, after perambulating several villages in succession, at length discovered him in Kalundaw, in the Udapattu korale, engaged in ploughing. As soon as the prince perceived the state elephant and the people in its rear, he attempted to conceal himself under a rock in the neighbourhood, fearing the usurper was in quest of him,

but the animal approached the place where he was concealed, and making a profound obeisance to him as the sovereign of the country, took him up gently with his proboscis, and placing him on his back conveyed him to Kurunegala. On his arrival he was crowned as king of Ceylon with great pomp."

Re-constructing the history of this period with the help of this tradition, divested of its fabulous part, and the account of Ibn Batuta, and the negative evidence furnished by the silence of the *Mahawansa*, it may be stated in all probability that the king described as Wanni Bhuvaneka Bahu III. contracted an alliance with a Mohammadan lady. The motive that led to this step might be that the king, recognising the growing power of the Mohammadans in India, hoped with their help to throw off the yoke of the king of Jaffna. But the king of Jaffna had already formed an alliance with the Sultan of the Coromandel coast according to Ibn Batuta's account. The Buddhist clergy would naturally regard this marriage with abhorrence and fear, although the king had endeared himself to the people by his great acts of beneficence. The partiality shown by the king to his Mohammadan subjects so exasperated them, that by some means they succeeded in blinding him. This would have naturally led to the king abdicating the throne, as custom had decreed that no blind or deaf person could continue in the kingly office. He had two sons, one by his Mohammadan wife and another by his Sinhalese queen. There was trouble about the succession. The elder of the two, the son by the Mohammadan wife, succeeded to the throne by stratagem, while the other retired into some obscure village fearing lest any harm be done to him by his brother. Perhaps the old king himself favoured his eldest son and nominated him, or it might be that the succession was influenced by the fact that the Mohammadan settlers were considered to be a powerful party, as they could count upon the support of the neighbouring Mohammadan power of South India. Jaya Bahu, or Wijaya Bahu as he was called,

endeared himself to the people by his large benefactions, in spite of his predilections to his mother's faith. The Buddhist priests inveigled him into attending a national festival, and the hired assassins pushed him over a precipice, when he was shattered to pieces on the rocks below. The death would naturally be put down to an accident for fear of the Mohammadan population rising. His half-brother had gone into voluntary exile, and no one knew his whereabouts. Search was made all over the adjoining districts. It is during this interval after the death of Jaya Bahu, and when search was being made for his half-brother, that Ibn Batuta arrived in Kurunegala on his way to Adam's Peak. He heard of the aged king who was blinded by his people and who still lived in the city and regularly visited the Sheik Ottoman who resided in the mosque outside the town. He mistook the minister for the king as he was carrying on the Government, while search was being made for the rightful successor. Perhaps he saw him riding the state elephant, and on inquiry was informed that he was the Conar who was administering the Government. As Ibn Batuta was a Mohammadan, it was not likely that people would give him any details of Jaya Bahu's death. According to the Lankatilaka inscription Bhuvaneka Bahu IV. ascended the throne at Kurunegala in 1344 A.D. and we may therefore assume that he was discovered and brought to Kurunegala a month or two after Ibn Batuta's visit. Three years afterwards Bhuvaneka Bahu IV. left Kurunegala and went to Gampola, the capital of his kinsman, and became king in that city. The *Mahawansa* does not tell us why this migration took place. According to tradition, "Conceiving that the Moorish usurper by sitting on the throne had polluted the sanctity of the city, the young prince proposed to move his court elsewhere and abandon Kurunegala. The people coinciding with his views, Dambadeniya was selected as the future capital, and the chiefs began gradually to desert it for that place, until it dwindled into a Durawa village." (*Pridham*, Vol. II., p. 649.) It was more likely that

the king, who was a coward by nature, was frightened to stay in Kurunegala for fear of the Mohammadan population, and moved on to Dambadeniya first, where he reigned for three years. Then we find him going to Gampola or Gangasiripura, where already Parakrama Bahu V. was reigning as sub-king.

According to the *Rajaratnakara*, Bhuvaneka Bahu IV. is described as the fourth king who reigned in that city, implying that the principality was of recent origin. The Gampola dynasty was probably established by Bhuvaneka Bahu, the brother of Parakrama Bahu II. We are told in the *Mahawansa* that Parakrama Bahu II. gave the office of sub-king to his younger brother Bhuvaneka Bahu together with half of the kingdom. (*Mahawansa*, chap. 82, v. 4.) History is silent as regards the sudden transfer of the capital to Gangasiripura, where already Parakrama Bahu V. was reigning as sub-king. This was not due to any sudden caprice on the part of the king, but to force of circumstances which compelled him to move and seek shelter under his cousin's roof. It was more in the nature of a flight from a sudden invasion of his capital than a capricious choice of another capital. The kings of Jaffna exercised supreme power and exacted tribute "from the high and low lands and from the nine ports" during the time of Wikrama Bahu, the successor of this king. Perhaps, like one of his predecessors, Bhuvaneka Bahu IV. refused to pay tribute, with the result that his capital was invaded by the king of Jaffna and he was forced to flee into the fastnesses of the mountain districts, in search of a safe asylum, which he found at Gampola. We have now the strange spectacle of two kings reigning in one city, not as some would have it as joint-kings, but independent of each other. For in no inscriptions or sannas do we find a joint grant made by the two sovereigns; such grants were issued independently of each other. Probably by mutual arrangement, while the imperial affairs were conducted by Bhuvaneka Bahu, Parakrama Bahu looked after the local sovereignty of the Gampola

district. Bhuvaneka Bahu was succeeded by Wikrama Bahu, who had the aid of the powerful minister Alagakkonara. He was not only his minister, but was probably also his kinsman. At his death in 1371 A.D. Alagakkonara leaves Gampola with his brother Attanayaka to his ancestral seat Rayigama, to concert measures as to what was to be done to shake off the Jaffna suzerainty. At this time the king Ariya Chakravarti was in possession of a large army and a richer treasury (Philalethes, *History of Ceylon*, p. 36); and the Adigar Alageswara (or Alagakkonara), taking one day into consideration the number of his subjects, said within himself, "that it was improper for him to pay tribute to any person, and began to project the means of shaking off his subjection by building the fortress of Jayawardana Cotta." (*Rajaratnâkara*, Upham's translation, Vol. II., p. 264.) The King of Jaffna, placing no faith on the promises given by the Sinhalese kings to duly pay tribute, as such promises were several times violated, appointed his own tax collectors in the Sinhalese districts. Towards the latter part of the fourteenth century matters had become very irksome and humiliating to the Sinhalese kings. During the greater part of the period of the Kurunegala dynasty, tribute was paid regularly, and thus the country was in a state of internal tranquillity; but during the period of the Gampola dynasty, the Jaffna king found it necessary to appoint his own tax collectors, a proceeding which wounded the pride of the Sinhalese kings. Driven to exasperation, the minister at the time made immense preparations to save the country from this humiliating position.

After the departure of Alagakkonara to Cotta, and on the death of Wikrama Bahu, a sovereign by the name of Bhuvaneka Bahu ascended the imperial throne at Gampola. He was the weakest and most cowardly sovereign that ever sat on the Sinhalese throne. Deprived of the assistance and counsel of the able minister of his predecessor, he did nothing remarkable. The history of this period is unfortunately involved in a good deal of

obscurity. We are however indebted to Mr. H. C. P. Bell, the late Archæological Commissioner, for his valuable contributions, in which he has succeeded in piecing up the fragmentary and confused history of this period with the help of the various inscriptions which he had discovered and deciphered. To a great extent the chronological sequence of the events of this period has, by his labours, been placed on a firmer foundation. A comparison of the various historical books, inscriptions, and contemporary religious and poetical works, instead of helping to illuminate the obscure portions of the history of this period, contributes to greater confusion and perplexity. The chronological sequence of events, the identity of some of the kings, and the dates on which the more important events took place, are all matters of speculation. To add to the difficulty we have variant readings of some of the works, which lead to confused and contradictory conclusions; and in some cases the learned scholars of the Sinhalese language are not agreed as to the exact rendering of some of the passages.

The *Mahawansa*, as we have already seen, had either misrepresented or suppressed events that occurred during the reigns of Bhuvaneka Bahu I. and Parakrama Bahu III. The kings who favoured the Mohammadans receive very scant notice, while no mention is made of the glorious victories achieved by Alagakkonara and later on by Sapumal Kumaraya, for the reason that no reference could be made to these victories unless the previous occurrences have been duly recorded. It was too humiliating a position for them to record that, for several years, they were beaten and kept in subjection by a very small kingdom.

The *Rajaraliya* gets over these difficulties in a different way. The author has no respect for chronological sequences and confuses one event with another. A period of hundred years is wiped off by confusing Wijaya Bahu of Dambadeniya with Wijaya Bahu of Gampola. The Malay, Pandyan, Jaffna, and Chinese invasions are all recognised as one, in spite of the long intervals of time

which separated them from each other. He thus gets over the difficulty of recording the crushing defeat sustained by Bhuvaneka Bahu I. and the humiliating treaty concluded by Parakrama Bahu III. He has no occasion to mention the kings who favoured the Mohammadans, or the cruel murder of Jaya Bahu at the instigations of the Buddhist priests. By combining the Chinese and Tamil invasions, and attributing Wijaya Bahu's captivity to the combined efforts of the two armies, he would make it appear that the Sinhalese were fighting against great odds, and that they therefore lost heavily, and he adroitly introduces the Jaffna king at this juncture as taking advantage of the troublous times only to be defeated ignominously by Alagakkonara.

The contemporary Sinhalese writers on religious and poetical works give us a few historical details, which will to some extent help us to reconstruct the history of the period, and correct misconceptions. We must accept the information contained in these books as in the main correct, except in so far as religious bias demanded suppression of some events, or, from purposes of policy, obscurity of language was employed, when a definite statement would have placed the author in a bad predicament. Many of the stone inscriptions and sannas may be regarded as genuine, but too much reliance cannot be placed on the genuineness of some of these, especially if they record events and dates which are not supported by other evidence.

The Chinese accounts furnish us with very valuable information and help us to a great extent to correct some misconceptions. Our first difficulty is to find out whether Alagakkonara ascended the throne under the title of Bhuvaneka Bahu V. On the death of Wikrama Bahu, we are told in the *Mahawansa*, that the minister Alagakkonara built the city of Jayawardanapura and that he became king in that city as Bhuvaneka Bahu. It is contended by Mr. Edward Perera that the original text does not warrant this interpretation and that Mudaliyar Wijeyasinghe was unconsciously influenced in his trans-

lation by the *Rajaratnakara*. "Perhaps," as he says, "a reminiscence of the *Rajaratnakara* made the learned translator of the *Mahawansa* adopt this rendering and omit to notice the fact that Alagakkonara belonged to the Giriwamsa, while Bhuvaneka Bahu V. was a member of the Suryawansa, the ancient royal Sinhalese dynasty (*Journal R.A.S., C.B.*, Vol. XVIII., p. 29).

Mudaliyar Gunewardene, in page 300 of the same Journal, says that "passage in the *Mahawansa* under dispute was capable of both renderings. Taken with the context it might be translated, 'In that city he (*i.e.*, Alakeswara of the context) became king as Bhuvaneka Bahu V.,' or it might be rendered, 'In that city there lived the illustrious Bhuvaneka Bahu V.,' and in view of other evidence this rendering should now be adopted." The Mudaliyar, in his introduction to C.M. Fernando's translation of the *Nikaya Sangrahawa*, p. xviii., states that "the supposed statement of the *Rajaratnakara* appears in a printed portion of the work, but is absent in the manuscripts. It is therefore presumed to be an interpolation of the editor, who evidently thought of supplying an apparent deficiency from the *Mahawansa* as then understood." Even if we adopt this new rendering as suggested by Mr. Edward Perera and Mudaliyar Gunewardene, does the text warrant us in concluding that a king other than Alagakkonara became king in Cotta under the name of Bhuvaneka Bahu V.? In speaking of Bhuvaneka Bahu the *Mahawansa* goes on to say that "he was full of faith.....that he might advance the welfare of the church, he assembled the priests together, and after he had made inquisition he caused the robes to be taken off from those that were wicked and showed favour unto them that behaved themselves well and gave them courage....." This portion of the *Mahawansa* was written some 400 years after these events, and the authors must have drawn their information from other sources, particularly the *Nikaya Sangrahawa*. The author of this book, after describing how the minister Alagakkonara built the new city

of Jayawardanapura and fortified it, and how with his armies of Sinhalese and Tamils he defeated the armies of Ariya Chakravarti, an achievement which earned for him the right of being admitted into the circle of the five ranks of princes known as ruler of an island, etc., goes on to state that the same minister called a convention of the priests in 1369 A.D. to inquire into the misdeeds of sintul priests and disrobed them. The description of Bhuvaneka Bahu V. of Cotta as given by the *Mahawansa* tallies in every detail with that of Alagakkonara in the *Nikaya Sangrahawa*. In spite of the learned criticism of the translation of this part of the *Mahawansa*, we must therefore accept the reading of Mudaliyar Wijeyesinghe as the correct one. The argument advanced by Mr. Edward Perera that Alagakkonara was of the Giriwansa, while Bhuvaneka Bahu V. was of the Suryawansa, and that therefore the two cannot be identical, is a very specious one. For we find that it was an article of faith among the Sinhalese that the kings of Ceylon should belong to the Suryawansa or the Solar dynasty, and many a king had claimed to be lineally descended from the Solar dynasty, when they were not really so, and that such a claim often rested on a distant relationship by collateral descent. Parakrama Bahu the Great is referred to in the Kalyani inscriptions as belonging to the Sirisanghabhodi dynasty, whereas he was the grandson of a Pandyan prince on his father's side and his maternal grandmother was of Kalinga descent, while his maternal grandfather was Wijaya Bahu of the Siri Sanga Bo dynasty. He was therefore more entitled to be called a descendant of the Lunar dynasty, as both the Pandyan and the Kalinga dynasty were of the Lunar race. When King Nissanka of Kalinga usurped the throne he described himself as a descendant of the Okkaka race. (*Journal R.A.S., C.B.*, Vol. X., No. 34, p. 53.) Similarly it was an article of faith that the queens should be of Kalinga descent. In chapter lxii. of the *Mahawansa*, vv. 7—16, Srivallabha, the brother of Manabharana, who was the father of Parakrama Bahu the Great, says: "It is indeed true that

princes sprung from the race of Kalinga have more often attained to the sovereignty of the Island again and again. Now, should the Queen Ratnavali (Manabharana's wife and of Kalinga descent) secretly send her daughter to be given in marriage to Gaja Bahu he would become stronger by this marriage, and this my son would become utterly helpless." And the queen who was an ornament of the race of the sun, having heard all these things wished not to agree and spake these words to the king: "When Wijaya slew all the evil spirits and made this Island of Lanka a habitation for men, from that time forth came the race of Wijaya to be allied to us, and we gave not in marriage save unto those born of the race of Kalinga, and as long as there remain princes born of the race of the moon, how can an alliance take place between us and this prince which is known unto us as an Aryan, albeit born of you?" The reference to Sri Vallabha as an Aryan is because the Pandyan dynasty was said to have sprung from the marriage of Arjuna, one of the Pandava brothers, to a Pandyan princess. The Kalinga dynasty is admitted by the queen to belong to the race of the moon, and yet the *Mahawansa* author describes her as "an ornament of the race of the sun." Ever since the son-in-law of Dhanta Kumaraya, king of Dhantapura in the Kalinga country, sought an asylum in Ceylon with his wife in 310 A.D., the Kalinga royal race had settled in the village of Beligala in the Kegalla district, and their descendants had furnished royal brides to the kings of the Sinhalese dynasty until the fifteenth century. Parakrama Bahu VI. married a princess from Kalinga dynasty, such descent may be by the collateral Rajasiṅha, the sons of Vira Parakrama Bahu VIII., married a common wife from Menikkadawara, another village in Beligala.

The mother of Parakrama Bahu VI., Sunetra Devi, was of Kalinga descent, and her ancestral seat was Dedigama, another village in Beligala. She is also said to belong to the Giriwansa, and it is very probable that she belonged to both families.

It is clear, therefore, that when kings and queens were described as descendants of the Solar race or of the Kalinga dynasty, such descent may be by the collateral line, notwithstanding the evidence of the lithic records where they are described as lineal descendants of the Solar or Kalinga dynasty. I have already stated that there is strong presumption that the members of the Alagakkonara clan had freely intermarried with the members of the royal family, and that they are described as members of both the Mehenavara and Leminikula vansas. The Alagakkonaras had therefore as much right to claim descent from the Mehenavara line as Parakrama Bahu the Great had to call himself a lineal descendant of the Solar race. All the Chinese historians of this period refer to Alagakkonara as a Solee (Chola), and as the king of the Island who was carried away captive to China.

It would appear from contemporary records that there were three seats of Government at this time. There was one in Gampola, one in Cotta, and one in Rayigama. In Gampola the old arrangement of the dual monarchy continued. The imperial dynasty was represented by Bhuvaneka Bahu V. of Gampola, the king who fled out of fear to Rayigama when the forces of Ariya Chakravarti invaded the high country. This is the king to whom reference is made both in the *Mayura Sandesa* and the Sinhalese translation of the *Attanagala Viharawansa*, as the king holding court at Gampola. The minister Alagakkonara with his brother Attanayaka was said to be at Rayigama when these works were composed, probably busy making preparations for the coming war. Alagakkonara was then strongly fortifying new Jayawardana Cotta; and it is evident that while he was there he exercised sovereign powers, as is proved by the sannas issued from Jayawardanapura. The *Rajawaliya* says that he (Alakeswara) did not think it proper for him to pay tribute to anybody. If he was only a minister at the time he would have said that it was not proper for his sovereign to pay tribute to anyone. A strong man like him was not going to remain a minister

to a weak king. He appears to have exercised regal powers in Cotta, although the Sinhalese of the up-country districts could not yet acknowledge him as king, as Bhuvaneka Bahu was still on the Gampola throne. In 1382 A.D. the *Mayura Sandesa* hopes for a victory yet to be achieved, breathes a prayer for success, and fully relying on the ability and prowess of Alakeswara, is full of hope that final success would be theirs. The *Nikaya Sangrahawa*, composed in 1396 A.D., speaks of this glorious achievement, but its ardour seems to have been damped for some reason or other. For we do not find that expression of glorious exultation one would expect when, after years of subjection, freedom and liberty have been regained. This great battle, which to some extent resulted in the liberation of the Sinhalese from a foreign domination, must have taken place between the years of 1382 A.D. and 1396 A.D. Bhuvaneka Bahu fled in fear to Rayigama when the large forces of Ariya Chakravarti invaded the hill-country, and did not return to Gampola until after victory was gained. But the people of the hill-country did not want such a coward any longer, and history is silent as to what happened to him after this. While Alagakkonara was supervising the attack against the Tamil forces that landed at Panadura, we must presume that someone took command of the highland army when Bhuvaneka Bahu ran away in fear. It is probably in reference to this period that the *Rajaraliya* says: "After this there was no king in Ceylon, but the minister Alagakkonara remained in Rayigam Nuwara, and the *bena* (son-in-law or nephew) of Parakrama Bahu remained in Gampola, and Ariya Chakravarti Rajah remained in Jaffnapatam." Bhuvaneka Bahu of Gampola, the last of the paramount Sinhalese sovereigns, had abdicated, and there was no successor to the throne. The principalities of Rayigama and Cotta acknowledged their allegiance to Alagakkonara, while Parakrama Bahu's son-in-law was in Gampola, having succeeded Parakrama Bahu to the throne of the Gampola district. It is more than probable that this successor of Parakrama Bahu

took command of the Sinhalese forces during the Tamil invasion.

I now propose to advance a historical hypothesis which would to a great extent harmonise the different accounts given of this period. Wijaya Bahu VI., who was taken captive by Mahadesa Rajah, according to the *Rajawaliya*, was the son-in-law of Parakrama Bahu and succeeded him as king of Gampola. He was the son of the Jaya Maha Le Sitana, who in the time of Wikrama Bahu III. was one of the signatories along with Alagakkonara to the Gampola inscriptions. He thus belonged to the Leminikula race. He married Sunetra Devi, who was the daughter of Parakrama Bahu V., and was the father of Parakrama Bahu VI.

When Wijaya Bahu was carried away captive by the Malabars, his Queen Sunetra Devi escaped with her infant prince to Widagama, and remained in hiding until the prince attained his sixteenth year, when he was crowned king at Rayigama in 1410 A.D. Wijaya Bahu must have been carried captive some fourteen years previously. The *Nikaya Sangrahawa*, which was composed in 1396 A.D., has no reference to it. We may therefore ascribe this event to 1397 A.D. The confused chronology of the *Rajawaliya* would have it that the king was carried away captive by the Malabars to China. But there was no Chinese invasion until after the year 1408 A.D. We must therefore assume that a Tamil invasion took place about 1397 A.D., in which Wijaya Bahu was carried away captive.

Let us now review what Alagakkonara, the great minister, was doing. He had repaired with his brother to Rayigama in 1371 A.D., and there concerted measures to free the Sinhalese people from their subjection to the kings of Jaffna. He built and fortified the city of new Jayawardana Cotta, and filled it with all manner of things to withstand a siege of many years. When he was ready to take the field he threw the gauntlet down by hanging the tax collectors of Ariya Chakravarti. It is said that it took him twenty years to complete his pre-

parations. If so, the battle with Ariya Chakravarti's forces would have taken place about the year 1391 A.D. It was not likely that Ariya Chakravarti would have taken his defeat calmly. His power was not completely shattered, and we have reasons to believe that he regained his authority to some extent. For in the reign of Parakrama Bahu VI. we still find him asserting suzerain powers, for it was this assertion that led Parakrama Bahu to organise and send an army to Jaffna in the latter part of his reign. I therefore submit that the invasion referred to in the *Rajawaliya*, in which Wijaya Bahu was carried away captive by the Malabars, was by Ariya Chakravarti. About 1397 A.D. Ariya Chakravarti probably led his forces against the hill-country and imposed his sovereignty, after defeating and capturing Wijaya Bahu. Alagakkonara appears to have lost his influence with his people about this period, and was not in a position to render any help to Wijaya Bahu. Entrenched behind his impenetrable fortress he was immune from attack, but was powerless to help others. The loss of prestige and power was attributable to a change in his religious belief, which appears to have taken place while he was residing at Cotta. Formerly, as a staunch Buddhist, he had built several viharas and purified the religion of Buddha by the celebrated convocation of priests which he had convened under the presidency of the elder Dharmakirti in 1369 A.D. When he was fortifying Cotta he had probably sent for skilled workmen from Kanchipura, his ancestral city. As evidence of this we find that the names of the different fortifications bear Tamil names, and the city itself, Cottai, the Tamil word for fort. The ensign of the Cholian dynasty, the tiger, was emblazoned in mortar on all sides of the ramparts; for, according to the *Nikaya Sangrahawa*, "he fixed in proper places *puli-mukam*," or the face of the tiger. He built four temples for the protection of the four quarters of the city and dedicated them to the gods Vishnu, Vibhusana, Subramanya, and Lakshman, and ordained that constant adoration should

be paid to them, accompanied by dancing and singing with beating of drums and music of various sorts. His army consisted not only of Sinhalese, but also of Tamils probably from the Chola country. By constant association with his own Cholian people he was gradually weaned away from his old faith and embraced the religion of his forefathers. When, years after, a Chinese expedition arrived in Ceylon about 1405 A.D., King Alagakkonara had become a heretic in the eyes of the Buddhists. *Pien-i-tien*, in chapter 66 of his book, says: "At present the king is A-liekon-nai-eul, who is a Souo-li; he observes heretical practices and does not respect the law of Buddha. He is a cruel and violent tyrant who has no pity for the people of the kingdom and treats the tooth of Buddha with disrespect." (*Journal R.A.S., C.B.*, Vol. XXIV., p. 98.) "Tcheng-Houo, the envoy, tried to persuade the king to honour the teaching of Buddha and to give up his heretical practices. The king felt irritated and seemed determined to take stern measures. Tcheng-Houo realised the situation and withdrew."

This view of Alagakkonara throws a good deal of light on the obscure passages of the *Nikaya Sangrahawa*, a contemporary work of this period. It was written by a Buddhist priest as an epitome of the religious history of the Island from the time of Wijaya. He mentions the order of succession of the kings from Wijaya to Wikrama Bahu III. of Gampola. Then he proceeds to describe the minister of that king, the great Alagakkonara, how he fortified the new city of Jayawardanapura and conquered the armies of Ariya Chakravarti and put them to flight. This act earned for him the gratitude of the Sinhalese people, and he was admitted into the circle of the five ranks of princes. The author then proceeds to enumerate all that he had accomplished for the religion of Buddha in his earlier days, winding up with an account of the religious convocation he held in 1369 A.D. The harmony of the church thus established, we are informed, prevailed up to the fifteenth year of Bhuvaneka Bahu V., when there had elapsed 1,929 years from the

death of Buddha. The author is silent as regards the identity of this king. We are not told whom he succeeded or where he reigned, but we are able to fix the commencement of his reign as 1371 A.D. The mystery is further maintained when the author states "that in the twentieth year of that Bhuvaneka Bahu, the cousin-german of that king, Vira Bahu of the Mehenavara family, came to the throne." Here we are not explicitly told whether Vira ascended the throne on the death of Bhuvaneka Bahu, or he was joint-king with him. It is more likely that he became king of a different principality in the litetime of Bhuvaneka Bahu in the twentieth year of his reign. The author then proceeds to describe in glorious and extravagant terms the extreme piety of this king and all what he was going to do for the Buddhist religion and clergy.

On the assumption that Alagakkonara became king of Cotta as Bhuvaneka Bahu V., and that he had alienated the sympathies of the Buddhists by his heretical practices, although he had earned their gratitude by liberating them from their subjection to the kings of Jaffna, it is clear why the author of the *Nikaya Sangrahawa* had expressed himself in obscure terms. Living at a period when King Alagakkonara was still supreme and very powerful, he could not openly attack him. He therefore proceeds to praise the king where praise was due, but bemoans the fate of the Buddhist church since the fifteenth year of his reign, and states how in his twentieth year Vira Bahu, a cousin of the king and an ardent and pious Buddhist, came to the throne, and to whom they were looking forward for the support of the national faith. This Vira Bahu, as would appear later on, became king at Rayigama, and not at Cotta.

While Alagakkonara had taken up his residence at Cotta and assumed sovereignty, he had, as already stated, fortified the city of Rayigama. This was in all probability made a sub-kingdom under his brother Attanayaka. At his death, King Alagakkonara made his son, Kumara Alakeswara, the viceroy at Rayigama. In the

Saddharma-ratnakaraya, a work written by a pupil of the author of the *Nikaya Sangrahawa*, after referring to the convocation convened by Alagakkonara and the harmony of the church which prevailed up to the fifteenth year of Bhuvaneka Bahu, the writer implies, in language which is not very clear, that after that year, for some reason or other, Bhuvaneka Bahu took no interest in the state religion, and that such interest was now displayed by Kumara Alakeswara. On his death the sub-kingdom of Rayigama passed on to Vira Alakeswara, a nephew of Alagakkonara, who was however defeated by his brother Vira Bahu, and had to flee to India for safety. Vira Alakeswara, like his uncle, had become a heretic, and the civil war that took place between the two brothers was in all probability the outcome of this religious defection. It was this Vira Bahu who, according to the *Nikaya Sangrahawa*, came to the throne in the twentieth year of Bhuvaneka Bahu. He ascended the throne at Rayigama in 1392 A.D., and continued his reign until 1398 A.D., when he was defeated and killed in action by his brother, Vira Alakeswara, who had returned from India with a large force. Vira Bahu was a devout Buddhist, and was therefore a favourite of the people. During his six years of reign at Rayigama they would have liked to have acknowledged him as suzerain king if it was possible; but the Tamil power was still formidable, and Alagakkonara, though old, struck terror into their hearts.

When Vira Alakeswara re-ascended the throne at Rayigama, the Buddhists lost all hope of state aid to their national faith, as both Alagakkonara and Vira Alakeswara were now heretics. Only a year before the accession of Vira Alakeswara, Wijaya Bahu of Gampola had been carried away captive by the Tamils, and the local Gampola dynasty ended with him. Queen Sunetra Devi escaped with her two infant sons and probably went to her maternal ancestral home at Dedigama. Vira Alakeswara, hearing of the existence of the two young princes, and fearing lest the Sinhalese people might one

day set them on the throne, attempted to kill them, but failed. When the elder of the two princes attained his sixteenth year, the luminaries of the Buddhist priesthood, who were then assembled at Dedigama, brought him out and acclaimed him as king. The opportunity for this declaration arose when Alagakkonara was carried away captive by the Chinese in 1409 A.D. As long as he was in the country he was feared, for the memory of the great deeds accomplished by him was still fresh in their minds. But the moment he was carried away, the priests saw their opportunity and proclaimed Parakrama Bahu as king at Dedigama. After holding court there for a short time, he proceeded to Rayigama, where Vira Alakeswara was sub-king. The chief priest Visidagama welcomed this action, or perhaps it was at his invitation he went over to Rayigama. According to the *Rajawaliya* and traditional accounts, instigated by the priest Visidagama, young Parakrama Bahu treacherously slew Vira Alakeswara, and ascended the Rayigama throne in 1410 A.D. The *Saddharma-ratnakaraya* did not wish to associate a crime of this nature with the head of the priesthood. I have no doubt that in his zeal for his faith, like many a priest of other religions in other countries, he had regarded the killing of a king who was an enemy to the national faith as an act of great merit. Just as the author of the *Mahawansa* did not wish to record the murder of Jaya Bahu of Kurunegala, which was done at the instigation and connivance of the priesthood, so the author of the *Saddharma-ratnakaraya* had sought to obliterate the record of that crime by stating that "Vira Alakeswara fell into the well-known Chinese snare and had to go." The well-known Chinese snare referred to by the author was the occasion, when only a year previously, Alagakkonara was captured by the Chinese and taken to China with the members of his court. The *Rajawaliya* and local tradition, on the other hand, state that Vira Alakeswara was beheaded by young Parakrama Bahu.

Although the Cotta throne was now vacant, neither

Vira Alakeswara nor his successor Parakrama Bahu ventured to place themselves on the throne occupied by their distinguished and august relation. In 1414 A.D. the emperor of China released the captives, and sent them back, nominating Parakrama Bahu as king. The captives were asked to select a king, and they all declared themselves in favour of Parakrama Bahu. An envoy was sent along with the released captives entrusted with the emperor's seal to invest the new king on the throne of Cotta, as a tributary king of China. On their arrival they invited Parakrama Bahu from Rayigama, and placed him on the Cotta throne in accordance with the instructions of the Chinese Emperor. This event took place in 1414 A.D.

As I have already pointed out, Parakrama Bahu VI. was the son of Wijaya Bahu of Gampola, and his mother was Sunetra Devi, the daughter of Parakrama Bahu V. of Gampola. Wijaya Bahu's VI. father was Jaya Mahalena Sitana, who held office during the reign of Wikrama Bahu III. Parakrama Bahu VI. would thus be the grandson of Jaya Mahalena Sitana and of Parakrama Bahu V., and belonged to the Leminikula and the Mehenavara families. Through his mother he was related to Alagakkonara, as she is also said to be of the Giriwansa family. If this view of the genealogy of Parakrama Bahu VI. be accepted, then the accounts given by the *Perakumbasirita*, *Kaviyasekaraya*, and the *Vritapanchika Pradipika*, are reconcilable with each other.

When Parakrama Bahu VI. ascended the Cotta throne, an anomaly occurred in the political condition of Ceylon. By virtue of his investiture he was the tributary king of China, while the Chakravarti, or emperor of Jaffna, still claimed and exercised sovereignty over the Island. According to Chinese historians the tribute was regularly paid until 1459 A.D., for in that year, says the *Mingshi*, "the king of Ceylon for the last time sent an envoy with tribute, and after that none came again." It is stated that in 1430 A.D., at a period of intestine

commotion. "Chingh-ho issued a proclamation for the pacification of Ceylon," and at somewhat later period edicts were promulgated by the emperor of China for the government of the Island. (*Tennent*, Vol. I., p. 601.)

No attempt was made by Parakrama Bahu in the earlier part of his reign to shake off the authority of Ariya Chakravarti. It was not until 1458 A.D., just four years before his death, that his adopted son, Sempahap Perumal, finally broke the power of the king of Jaffna. De Couto is the only author who has given some details of the family history of this prince. During the reign of Parakrama Bahu VI. a panikkan from the neighbouring coast of India came to Ceylon. The king took a great fancy to him, and to show him marked favour, married him to a woman of rank. From the trend of subsequent events I conclude he was a fencing master of some distinction. The term *panikkan* is used in India for a class of people who follow the occupation of fencing masters, as well as for those who perform menial occupations, such as tailors and barbers. The word itself is derived from the Tamil root *pani*=to serve. The king must have recognised his great abilities as a fencing master, as he did him such signal honour. He probably appointed him to train the men of his army, as one day he hoped to put an end to the allegiance he owed to the throne of Jaffna. Looking ahead he welcomed the arrival of a man whose skill in fencing was of such high order that it promised him possibilities of freedom from the irksome position of a tributary king. Two children were born to this panikkan, and as they both showed early promise of a brilliant career, the king, who was not blessed with any sons of his own, adopted them. The elder of the two was called Sempahap Perumal, while the younger, being the last child, was called Kadai Kumaraya: *kadai* is a Tamil word which means *last*. Sempahap Perumal was called Sapumal Kumaraya by the Sinhalese: *sapumal* is the Sinhalese rendering of the Tamil *sempakam*.

The two boys grew up carefully trained in the arts

of war, probably under the able tutelage of their father. Both were destined, as we shall see later, to play an important part in the subsequent history of the Island. Before the boys grew up to man's estate, there was an invasion of the Island by a large army that was said to have been sent by the king of Canara with a large fleet. (*Philaletes' History of Ceylon*, p. 39.) This event is said to have occurred about 1451 A.D., and although Valentyn, from whom Philaletes derived his information, ascribes the invasion to the king of Canara, I believe the reference is to the king of Jaffna, for contemporary history does not record such indications of activity by the kingdom of Canara. On the other hand, the *Kowul-sandesa*, a contemporary work, invokes a blessing from Krishna upon Sapumal Kumaraya, and prays that the war on which he was then engaged at Jaffna against Ariya Chakravarti, *the king of Karnata*, might prove victorious. The same author speaks of the fort of Java-kakottai (the present Chavakachcheri in the peninsula of Jaffna) as having been built and manned by the Malays to keep back the *Canarese*. It is therefore evident that for some reason or other the Sinhalese of this period spoke of the people of Jaffna as *Canarese*, and their king as *king of Canara*. It would appear that Parakrama Bahu VI. felt conscious of his growing power, and probably urged by the Panikkan leader, refused to pay any further tribute to the kingdom of Jaffna. This would have naturally led to a declaration of war by the king of Jaffna, who sent a large force both by land and sea. The mighty army was defeated, and "this act gave him (Parakrama Bahu) a very formidable name throughout the whole East, and caused him to be greatly beloved by his people." (*Philaletes' History of Ceylon*, p. 39.)

We thus see that Parakrama Bahu VI., for nearly forty years after he ascended the throne, paid tribute both to the Tamil and Chinese kingdoms, and this ensured for him an internal tranquillity during which he was enabled to develop the resources of his country. He gathered a large army and slowly and steadily prepared

himself for the coming struggle. When all his arrangements were complete, he declined to pay tribute, and by this act he courted an invasion of his country, which gave him an immense advantage over his opponent. At this time, according to the *Vaipavamalai*, Kanakasuriya Singa Ariya Chakravarti was on the throne of Jaffna. It is said of him that "he ruled with neither justice nor firmness, and, instigated and assisted by the Vanniyars, his Sinhalese subjects rose up against him." Immediately after the signal success of his arms, Parakrama Bahu conceived the bold design of carrying the war into the heart of the country of his suzerain. Perhaps he was aware of the internal dissensions that had occurred in Jaffna. He was able to rely on the help of the Vanniyars, without whose aid and support he would have found considerable difficulty in marching his armies to Jaffna. As he was an old man at this time he entrusted the command of his army to his young foster-son, Sempahap Perumal. Relying on his previous victory, and the declining influence of the Jaffna king, he sent the following insolent message: "Tell him, since it ill becomes that Ceylon should have two emperors, I have sent my general to relieve you of that new title, and as you could not rest and were not content with what you had, to give you somewhat more rest." (Valentyn, quoted by Edward Perera in *Journal, R.A.S., C.B.*, Vol. XXII., No. 63, p. 26.) If the king of Jaffna had merely assumed an empty title, it is hard to believe that the Sinhalese monarch would have embarked on a costly expedition, solely for the purpose of compelling him to abandon the use of this title. On the assumption that Parakrama Bahu VI. continued to pay tribute until such time as he had husbanded his resources and gathered a sufficiently strong army when he decided not to pay any further tribute, the invasion of Jaffna, and the insolent message which accompanied it, appear to be the logical sequence of the preceding events. Sempahap Perumal did not find it an easy task to conquer Jaffna. In his first attempt, after raiding a few villages and taking

some prisoners, he had to retire to Cotta owing to the stubborn resistance of Ariya Chakravarti's outposts. In his second campaign he was able to inflict a crushing defeat, in which the king and queen escaped with their children to India. According to the *Kowulsandesa* the issue of this campaign was uncertain at the time it was written. Great were the rejoicings both in the capitals as well as throughout the country when the news of the great victory was announced. The *Selalihini Sandesa*, a poetical work of great merit, describes the victory achieved in glowing language, applauding the hero in terms of extravagant praise, and reflecting in its verses the great outburst of joy of the people. No other victory achieved by the Sinhalese at any time had evoked such universal expressions of such great joy and happiness, and roused the national enthusiasm to such great pitch as this victory. In the year following, the king, who had for forty years regularly paid the tribute to the Emperor of China, now feeling secure, refused to pay it any longer. And in the following year, the closing year of his long reign, his second foster-son, Ambulugalla Kadai Kumaraya, was sent against the ruler of Kandy, called Jotiya Situ Raja, who had refused to pay his annual tribute. The Kandyans were unable to withstand the mighty forces of Parakrama Bahu, and Jotiya Situ Raja fled the country. Many of his closest relations were taken captives, and a prince of the Gampola dynasty was placed on the Kandyan throne as a tributary king of Cotta. This invasion following so close on the overthrow of Jaffna, does not support the statement made by the Sinhalese historians of the *Rajawaliya*, that the tributary king of Kandy neglected to pay his yearly tribute, and likewise to send the people for service as he was wont to do. It is hardly likely that the king of Kandy would choose such an inopportune moment to throw off his yoke. Parakrama Bahu was at the zenith of his power, and he had not only successfully redeemed his country from its bondage to the kingdom of Jaffna, but had also reversed the tables on his opponents and had

made them his subjects. He had further thrown off his allegiance to the great Emperor of China. It would appear that Jotiya Situ Raja was not a member of any of the branches of the Sinhalese royal line. Valentyn makes the statement "that, in order to strengthen his influence, he distributed many villages and lands among his partisans, and lavished upon them many high-sounding titles, to which the Sinhalese are much attached." This would indicate that he was not a Sinhalese sovereign, and his name also suggests an alien origin. Who then was this king, and how did he come to reign over the Kandyan districts? To this question the Sinhalese histories can return no satisfactory answer. I submit that when Wijaya Bahu VI. of Gampola was taken captive, as we have reason to believe, by the king of Jaffna, ever since that time the Kandyan territories were placed under governors appointed by the kings of Jaffna. It would therefore follow that when the principal power had been subdued, its tributary kingdom would be asked to surrender. But this sub-king was not going to yield without a struggle. Before closing his eyes Parakrama Bahu VI. had the great satisfaction of knowing that once more the whole of the Island had been brought under one canopy of the Sinhalese dynasty. Thus another Parakrama Bahu became the saviour of the Sinhalese nation, and freed it from foreign domination. Parakrama Bahu I. overthrew the Cholian supremacy, Parakrama Bahu II. destroyed the Kalinga domination, while Parakrama Bahu VI. redeemed his people from their bondage to the Tamil dynasty of Jaffna. The *Kokila Sandesa*, another poem of great merit, composed in the reign of Parakrama Bahu VI., takes the form of a message of congratulation sent through a cuckoo, to Prince Sapumal on his great victory over the king of Jaffna. Gunawardhana Mudaliyar regards this poem as "the reflection of the national joy at the *restoration* of the nation's supremacy" and as "the most majestic in the Sinhalese language." Need we wonder at such ecstasy of thought and language when we consider the

occasion that evoked the best efforts of its poets? The poetical works composed in the last years of Parakrama Bahu VI. are considered by Sinhalese scholars as the best productions of Sinhalese literature, and we find that in each of them the national joy of this glorious victory is faithfully reflected.

According to the *Vaiparamalai*, Jaffna was ruled as a tributary kingdom for seventeen years, and one Vira Bahu was appointed viceroy. The Sinhalese accounts are silent as to whether Jaffna ever regained its independence. The *Vaiparamalai* records that for seventeen years the kingdom was in the hands of one Vira Bahu, a ringleader of the Sinhalese, who had vaulted into the vacant throne as soon as he had learnt of the flight of the royal family. This usurper tyrannised over the Tamils, compelled them to adopt the Sinhalese dress, manners, and habits, and severely punished them if they followed their own ancient usages. The triumph was so complete that he did not think it necessary to guard his capital with a strong army. Until he saw the enemy actually enter the capital by its western gate, the usurper fancied himself sate on his illgotten throne. To call out the soldiers of the city was but the work of a moment. He took the command in person and displayed such daring feats of valour that the invaders were staggered for a moment, but Pararasasekaran, the elder of the two princes, cut a passage with his sword through the opposing mass, approached Vira Bahu, sprang upon him like a lion, and slew him with his own hand and committed great havoc among his soldiers. The death of the leader was but the signal of defeat to the Sinhalese soldiers, who fled in disorder and never attempted to take the field again." (*Vaiparamalai*, pp. 24, 25.) The old monarch re-ascended the throne and the kingdom retained its independence until the Portuguese conquest. Although the kingdom was regained, the suzerainty over the Island of Ceylon, which the kings of Jaffna exercised for a period of nearly two centuries, passed away altogether. The Sinhalese, however, although they

regained their independence, had for their kings members of a Tamil dynasty, for Bhuvaneka Bahu VI. was no other than Sapumal Kumaraya, the son of a Cholian Panikkan. His successors continued to rule in Cotta, until the Portuguese conquest. Even Parakrama Bahu VI. showed more predilections towards the race of his mother, who was of the Giriwansa; for we are told of "the new temples of devils and of the idols he worshipped." The language of the court at Cotta appears to have been Tamil. The sannas issued by Bhuvaneka Bahu V. and his successors was attested by Sannas Tiruvarahan Perumal. There has been a good deal of speculation as to whether the term is the name of an individual, a family, or an office. Mudaliyar Vaidianathan suggests that "Tiruvarahan" (තිරුවරහන්) is a mistaken reading for "Tiruvarangan" (තිරුවරංගන්), which is a name common even now in Malabar. The office of Sannas Minister appears to have been held by the members of one family for several generations, and as among the Hindus the eldest grandson received the name of the grandfather, we meet with the name "Tiruvarangan" for nearly two centuries. The employment of Tamils for this particular office suggests that the court language was Tamil, and it was the duty of these officers to translate and inscribe on copper plates the royal orders.

In Ribeiro's *Ceilao* (translation by Dr. Paul Pieris, p. 24) we meet with the name Tamatey Sambara Perumal among the princes of the Cotta dynasty. This is obviously the Tamil தர்மபால பந்தர பெருமாள். The same author calls the grandson of Bhuvaneka Bahu as "Dharmapala Pandarym," where the Tamil word "Pandaram" is used instead of the corresponding Sinhalese word "Bandara." Further, in document No. 1 of the Portuguese king, the ambassador of Bhuvaneka Bahu is called "Pandither," the Tamil form being again used instead of the Sinhalese "Pandita."

I have already referred to Parakrama Bahu VI. marrying a princess of Beligala, a royal village, where

the Kalinga or Telugu dynasty had settled for several hundred years. Notwithstanding the statement of Mr. Edward Perera in his paper on "The Age of Sri Parakrama Bahu VI." that "Parakrama Bahu, to soothe the national sentiments which had been outraged by the previous royal alliances with the alien Giriwansa, married a princess from the village of Kirawila in Beligal Korale," we find that this king gave his only daughter, Ulukundali Devi, in marriage to a Cholian prince, Nallurutan.

It would thus appear that while the supremacy of the Tamil kings of Jaffna was destroyed, the Sinhalese had only exchanged it for another Tamil dynasty.

South Indian Epigraphy No. 110 cf.

"On the second gopura of the Jaganatha Swami temple of Tirupullim, to the left of the entrance, a Pandyan inscription of the time of Maravarman, 37th year, alias Tribhuvana Chakravartin Kulasekera Deva, who conquered every country, in Tamil alphabet which is mutilated, and records an order of a certain Ariya Chakravartin."

Maravarman Kulasekera's 37th year corresponds to 1305 A.D. If we accept 1275 A.D. as the date of death of Parakrama Bahu II. according to the *Mahawansa*, and add two years for Wijaya Bahu II., and 11 years for Bhuvaneka Bahu I., we arrive at the date 1288 A.D. as the year in which Jayavira Singhe Ariyan conquered the whole of Ceylon. And as according to the *Vaipava-malai*, the treaty of peace was not concluded until 12 years after, we arrive at the date 1305 A.D. as the year in which peace was concluded. This inscription on the temple gopura probably represents the compact made between kings Kulasekera and Jayasingha Ariyan.

"THE OVERLORDSHIP OF CEYLON."

Remarks by Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar
of the Madras University

The object of Dr. Paul's paper is, as he notes carefully in the Foreword, to examine how far it could be inferred correctly that Jaffna exercised an overlordship over the whole of Ceylon in the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries. He goes to an examination of this question with very good equipment apparently, and has done his work with great learning and considerable judgment. The history of Ceylon at various periods comes into contact with that of the history of India and often illumines that history, and in its turn receives much needed illumination from that history as well. This is quite as much in evidence during this period as in other periods of Ceylon history and Dr. Paul has naturally to refer to it in the course of his learned paper. I shall content myself with making a few remarks of a general character in respect of this particular portion of his work, and reserve a fuller examination of the whole position in the light of the history of South India of the period to a future occasion. The first point that calls for attention is that on page 83 Dr. Paul states that in A.D. 983 the first Chola invasion of Ceylon took place. As in the case of the historical chronicles of Ceylon generally, these chronological details have to be checked and verified with the aid of the more definite inscriptional records of India; according to these it was the Chola Parāntaka, the first great Chola that carried on the invasion of Ceylon actually referred to by the learned Doctor. His reign extended from A.D. 906 at least 48 years, that is to about A.D. 954. Somewhere about his 19th or the 20th year his inscriptions first men-

tion the invasions of Ceylon. The Cholas maintained their hold upon Ceylon all the time that they were in power, the last great Chola to maintain it being Kulottunga III. A.D. 1178 to 1216, the contemporary of the Ceylonese Parakrama Bahu the Great. It was his intervention that compelled Lankápura and Jagad Vijaya to retire into Ceylon, and reaffirmed the hold of the Cholas upon the Pándya country. There is a record of his which says that he got himself anointed in Madura after killing Vira Pándya, apparently the protége of the Ceylonese. The statement therefore in regard to Parakrama Bahu's intervention in the Pándya country, and its result as stated by the learned Doctor must be modified slightly. There are two grants of the time of Kulottunga III., the Arpakam and Truvelangadu inscriptions, which are authority for this position.

In regard to the invasion of the Malaya Canda Bhánu and what the Doctor has to say about its identity with the invasion of Sundra Pándyan, the matter stands, from the point of view of South Indian History, somewhat as follows:—The last great Chola Rájéndra came to the throne in A.D. 1246, and ruled for about 21 years. He claims a victory over Uttara Lanka, the country of the Víraráksbasas, and lays claim to having thoroughly subjugated the kingdom. The same claim is made by the contemporary of Sundra Pándya, by name Vira Pándya, a Jaṭávarman, whose date of accession according to the late Professor Kielhorn is A.D. 1253, and he claims having "killed one of the two kings of Ceylon, captured his army, chariots, treasures, throne, crown, necklaces, bracelets, parasols, dhowries and other royal possessions, planted the Pándya flag with the double fish on Konamalai and the high peaks of the Trikúṭagiri mountain, received elephants as tribute from the other king of Ceylon." This is what the Kuḍumiyámalai inscription has to say about him (number 356 of 1906). Sundra Pándya, the famous Jaṭávarman Sundra Pándya, does not lay claim, on his own account, to have

conquered Ceylon although he assumes the general title "who took all countries," while his contemporary cousin, Víra Pándya, assumes the title "who took Íḷam (Ceylon), Kongu and Soḷamanḍalam." I do not know if in the circumstances it can be held that Chandabanu could be equated with Sundra Pándya. As far as I could make out from the genealogical list, there is a Chandabanu about this period in the genealogical table of the Parlakimidi Uriya chieftains, of Orissa (the Kalinga of Indian and of Ceylonese historians). Reference to the invasion under Chandabanu, the Malay, with a large Tamil force consisting of Pándyans and Cholians may perhaps be possibly one of the invasions under the auspices of Rajendra Chola III.

In respect of the Ariya Chakravarties of Jaffna, the Doctor says, on the authority apparently of the *Vaipavamalai*, that they ruled from A.D. 948, when Kulankai Ariya Chakravarti is said to have come to the throne, till A.D. 1506, when *Sankili* was *deposed by the Portuguese*. A.D. 1506 is far too early for the Portuguese who had not yet secured possession of Goa. They were still struggling to establish their position on the West Coast. I think the chronology here is out by a little more than a century. Sankili was dispossessed by the Portuguese sometime about A.D. 1615 or 1616, when he fled for support to Raghunatha Nayaka of Tanjore. I fear it would be difficult to build upon the chronological basis of the *Vaipavamalai*. In regard to what he says of Ariya Chakravarti of Jaffna, there are very many points that would call for remark. The position of Maravarman Kulasékhara in all the transactions between the Ariya Chakravarti and the Ceylon ruler may be one of Kulasékhhara making a peaceful intervention on the side of the weaker as against the stronger. It would be difficult to say that there was no invasion of Ceylon under Maravarman Kulasékhara as we do not yet know enough of the

history of the Pándya country. As was pointed out in the paragraph above, there was an invasion under Kulottunga III., there was an invasion under Maravarman Sundra Pándya I. (A.D. 1216-39), there was an invasion under Rajendra Chola III. A.D. 1246-67 and a Virapándya (A.D. 1253-c1280) claims victory over Ceylon. The invasion thus referred to by the *Mahawamsa* in this connection may be either of the last two, or it may be one of which we have as yet come upon no particular mention in the Pándya records.

In regard to the title Ariya Chakravarti being unusual, it is anything but unusual. In the same connection the *Mahawamsa* itself makes mention of a Malava Chakravarti among the Tamil generals. The great Chola kings of the eleventh and twelfth centuries made it a fashion to hold investitures on occasions of new successions, and conferred various titles upon the relations of the ruling sovereign and others as well. Among them figure such titles as a Kalingaráya, Kannakkucchi Ráyar, Ayodhia Ráyar, etc. These titles, if they made any claim at all to territory or rule over Kalinga, much worse Kanouj and Ayodhya, made a mere fictitious claim; not a claim for actual rule or authority, but some kind of connection, much like Baron Roberts of Kandahar, or Lord Kitchener of Khartoum, and meant no more possession or exercise of authority than Kandahar or Khartoum in respect of these English barons. That there could have been an Ariya Chakravarti, general of Kulasékhara, there is evidence at least of one Ariya Chakravarti among the subordinates of Kulasékhara mentioned in a record in the Pándya country (No. 110 of 1903). In respect of what the Doctor says on page 95 "regarding the five brethren who ruled the Pándya kingdom at the time," I am afraid the Doctor is sadly mistaken. About the time of the rule of the Pándya Kulasékhara we certainly could count five rulers; but

in the 30 years preceding we do not get five, but we have three, sometimes four, Pándyas ruling simultaneously, as is clearly indicated by their inscriptions which have become available to us.

In respect of what he says on page 98 regarding Girivamsa, there were Malayamans in early Tamil history, as during the period of the Chola Empire from the 10th to 14th century, under a slightly different designation Miláḍuḍaiyán: but it is still open to regard the Girivamsa as referring to the Malaya country in Ceylon itself. In respect of the other fact of the Tamil termination "Kon" for which he quotes my authority for Tondayarkon, there is Kadavarkon, Pallavarkon, and there is even the Solakon, as very common designations. Of the particular name Alagakkonara, the Tamil form would be Aḷagarkon. This name however is one we are to look for in the Pándya country rather than in Kanchi, though it is not impossible even there. On page 100 the Doctor says that Ibn Batuta embarked at Colombo for India; I believe Ibn Batuta's account is that he came back to Battala (Puttalam) and embarked from there for Malabar. In regard to what he says in the second paragraph of that regarding Marakalayar; the Marakayar, as they are called in India, were certainly settled in various localities, and under Kulasékhara there was a very influential settlement of these people in the principal ports of the Pándya country, Fatan, Mali Fatan, and Kabil or Paṭṭaṇam (Periapaṭṭaṇam or Ramésuara paṭṭaṇam), Méla paṭṭaṇam (Dévipattanam) and Káyal respectively. But these Marakayar, in evidence in these ports, have had nothing to do with the invaders that came from the North, who held a part of the Pándya country under their control and whose Sultan it was that was related to Ibn Batuta. Not to be too long I pass on to page 122, where the Doctor refers to A.D. 1451, and states "History does

not record such activity by the kingdom of Canara." By the kingdom of Canara is here meant the Karnaṭa Empire of Vijayanagar, and far from their being inactive in this region, they had in the 4th decade of the 15th century a government of theirs in Madura, which was held by two brothers under Devaraya II. who died in 1449. These brothers were known as Lakkana and Madana; and Lakkana had for his special charge "the lordship of the southern ocean" which, it it meant anything, meant control over the coast regions and perhaps a certain amount of control over the sea. It is hardly necessary to charge the people of Jaffna with not knowing enough of their contemporaries. It is the later connection of these Vijayanagar empire people that brings the history of Ceylon in contact with that of the Portuguese and South India which it is hardly necessary to touch upon in this connection.

Before closing these somewhat random remarks of mine upon the very learned paper, I wish it to be understood that these remarks are offered not in any spirit of fault-finding, but with a view merely to promote discussion and advance correct knowledge of the history of the period, and I have no doubt that the learned author of the paper will consider these in the friendly spirit in which they are offered.

NOTE BY GATE MUDALIYAR SIMON DE SILVA

The paper entitled "The Overlordship of Ceylon" seeks to establish the novel and startling theory that during the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries the Sinhalese kings were in subjection to the little kingdom of Jaffna. In order to support this proposition the writer has found it necessary to set aside historical records whose authority has never before been called in question and

to rely on legendary stories. The whole thing rests on unwarranted inferences.

The first mention of an Arya Chakravarti in the *Mahawansa* is during the reign of Bhuvaneka Bahu I. (1289—1298.) It is there stated that an Arya Chakravarti, a general of the Pándian King Kulasékara, invaded Ceylon, carried away the tooth-relic and delivered it to his king. Ceylon was again invaded by the Pándians in the 14th century. This invasion was also conducted by an Arya Chakravarti, who constructed defences at certain places, but the Pándians were soon dispersed by the Viceroy Alakeswara. Arya Chakravarti then retreated to Jaffna and established himself there as a Governor under the Pándian king. It was in this manner that the kingdom of Jaffna came into existence in the 14th century. It does not appear that there were any quarrels between the Sinhalese and the Jaffna Tamils until Jaffna was re-annexed by Parakrama Bahu VI. (about 1450). It is hardly necessary to say that Chakravarti is a family name. There was a general called Málawa Chakravarti who opposed the army of Parakrama Bahu I. when the latter invaded the Pándian country. (*Vide Mahawansa.*)

I should have thought that the Kitsirime inscription was sufficient to settle the controversy that has centred round Alakeswara, but Dr. Paul re-opens the question and brings fresh arguments to prove that this man was a Cholian. He says that the Cholian religious instructor of Parakrama Bahu IV. must have been the ancestor of Alakeswara, forgetting that the man was a Buddhist Priest for whom a temple was built at Ratgama, near Galle.

Alakeswara's family name is Amaragiriwansa, of which the abbreviated form is Giriwansa (*Vide Nikaya Sangrahawa*). Amaragiri is the Sanskrit form of Devanagala, a mountain in the Kegalle District. Vanci is evidently a village which was the heritage of the Alakeswara family. It has nothing to do with Kanjiveram or Venji.

I will refer to one instance to show the extent to which facts have been misunderstood by the writer of this paper. He says: "The language of the Court at Cotta appears to have been Tamil, because the Sannases issued were attested by Tiruwarangam Perumalum." Now we know as a fact that all the Sannases issued at Cotta were written in Sinhalese, and that Tiruwarangam is the adjectival form of Tiruwarangama, a pure Sinhalese name of a village which belonged to a family. In the *Hansa Sandesa*, stanza 50, reference is made to one Wikramasinha Adigar as belonging to the family of Tiruwarangama.

Dr. Paul incorrectly transliterates Sinhalese names and whenever he sees a mere external resemblance in the names so spelt and Tamil names rushes to the conclusion that these are Tamil too. Take for instance his transliterated forms: Sakala Kalaw Wala for the Sinhalese form Sakala Kalá Walla, Taniya Wala for Tania Walla, Nallurutan for Nannuru Tunaya, and Kudai Kumarayan for Kuda Kumarayo.

REMARKS BY MR. JOHN M. SENAVERATNA

6. Mr. John M. Senaveratna, said that the only foundation for Dr. Paul's theory of a Tamil overlordship of Ceylon in the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries, was a chance statement in the *Vaipavamalai* (a history of Jaffna compiled about 1736 A.D.), that "the kingdom of Jaffna exercised suzerain powers over the whole of Ceylon from the time of Jaya Vira Singa Aryan and for a number of successive reigns." But the *Vaipavamalai* was quite certain that this Jaya Vira Singa lived in the latter half of the 15th century, and that, as a matter of fact, the Jaffnese suzerainty over Ceylon, which he is alleged to have established, began not a day earlier than 1380 Saka or 1458 A.D. In these circumstances Dr. Paul's assump-

tion that the *Vaipavamalai* was right when it gave him the idea of a Tamil overlordship and wrong when it fixed a date for the beginning of that overlordship was too grotesque for words. In a word, the whole argument of Dr. Paul's paper represented an attempt to make of a chance statement, in a comparatively valueless work, a Procrustean Bed within which all the information we had from a multitude of authentic historical sources was either hacked or strained till it fitted into it. Either the whole of the testimony of the *Vaipavamalai* on the point must be accepted or the whole of it rejected. To take only so much of it as suited a preconceived theory and to repudiate as incorrect that portion of it which made that theory untenable, was not to write history but to distort it, not to elucidate the truth but to suppress it. But there was good ground for the very greatest caution in accepting the testimony of the *Vaipavamalai* at all on the points at issue. To state a few out of many reasons :—

(1) It was an 18th century work, demonstrably lacking in the authority which quite a number of earlier and more reputed Sinhalese historical works possessed for informing us of the events of the 13th to 15th centuries.

(2) Even Dr. Paul was compelled to admit that, as an historical document, the *Vaipavamalai* was an unsatisfactory work.

With reference to Sapumal Kumaraya's conquest of Jaffna, Dr. Paul at page 38 said: "The *Selalihini Sandesa* describes the victory achieved in glowing language, applauding the hero in terms of extravagant praise, and reflecting in its verses the great outburst of joy of the people." The *Selalihini Sandesa* said nothing of the kind and its one and only reference to Sapumal Kumaraya and his victory was the single line where he was spoken of as "returning home from Jaffna's city's siege" (verse 28). Said Dr. Paul again: "The office of Sannas Minister appears to have been held by the members of one family (*i.e.* Tamil) for several generations" (p. 41). This was flatly contradicted by the

clearest and most conclusive testimony, *viz.*, the evidence of the Sannas themselves.

Again said Dr. Paul: "The employment of Tamils for this particular office suggests that the Court language was Tamil." As, in point of fact, Tamils were not the only nationality employed for this particular office, the suggestion lacked stability. And if "the Court language was Tamil," why in the name of all that was Tamil were the Sannas themselves invariably in Sinhalese? And, finally, among the "other evidence that the successors of Parakrama Bahu VI. on the Cotta throne were Tamils" (p. 41) was the circumstance that there was a Prince called "Sakala Kalaw Wala Raja" whose name, according to Dr. Paul, is a "pure Tamil appellation" and had "no significance in Sinhalese." Firstly, no such Prince ever sat on the Cotta throne. Obviously, therefore, no such Prince could ever have been a successor, or even predecessor, of Parakrama Bahu VI. Secondly, the name was no more a "pure Tamil appellation" than "chalk" was "cheese." Thirdly, the name was spelt wrongly. According to that same Kegalla Report, upon the value of which Dr. Paul was so deservedly enthusiastic in his praise, the name should be written "Sakalakala Vallabha"; and both in Sanskrit and in Pali, "Sakala" meant "all," "Kala" meant "arts and sciences," and "Vallabha" meant "chief or master," the whole being equivalent to "master of all the arts and sciences." So, then, the Prince's name was not a "pure Tamil appellation" and did possess significance in Sinhalese. With one obsession in mind and with microscope glued to the eye, one's search for evidences of Tamil influence could produce sensational results, as Dr. Paul's effort did. But this was not how in these days critical scholars should read or write history, and the Asiatic Society undertook a grave responsibility when it accepted, for serious discussion, any paper which so lightly sought to throw aside accepted facts of history and which was so largely dependent on the imagination for whatever interest or

value it had. As an historical proposition, the Tamil overlordship of Ceylon in the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries was a myth; as an imaginative sketch, interspersed with a few facts here and there, it was interesting, even admirable. That the Tamils at any time, whether in the 13th to 15th centuries or earlier or later, exercised a really dominant influence over the Sinhalese was as untrue as the contrary proposition would be untrue; but that their influence had been greater than that of any other national group known in our history, few would venture to deny. And to that circumstance was due the ancient friendship between the Sinhalese and the Tamils. Mr. Senaveratna trusted that nothing that he had said that night or might be said by others during the course of the debate would in any degree affect that ancient friendship, and he hoped that neither extravagant claims on one side nor sharp criticism on the other would mar the cordiality that had prevailed throughout the centuries between the two communities.

Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardana said:—The object of this paper is to prove that towards the latter days of the Sinhalese monarchy, Ceylon had come under the supremacy of Jaffna; that after two centuries of vassalage, the Sinhalese had turned round on their suzerain power and destroyed it, but in so doing they had only exchanged one Tamil dynasty for another. This theory is built upon a curious assumption, which will be presently shown. If the assumption fails the theory fails. The *Vaipavamalai*, a beautiful history of Jaffna, written by an accomplished scholar, says that Jaya Wira Singa Ariyan, King of Jaffna, had a dispute about the pearl-banks with Bhuvaneka Bahu, King of Kandy: that he attacked Bhuvaneka Bahu, defeated him and imposed on him tribute. This the author distinctly says was in the year 1458 of the Christian era. But the lecturer has got a theory. He points out that in the Sinhalese chronicle, *Rajavaliya*, of which the editor tells us the text is hopelessly corrupt, the deportation of a Sinhalese king is given in a certain year, and the date of coronation of his

successor, which took place later, is placed ten years earlier. That, says our lecturer, was the fashion among historians in those days! On the strength of that fashion he shifts the story of the *Vaiparamalai* to a point three hundred years earlier, and from that point reads the history of Ceylon to suit his theory. In fact his theory does not proceed from history, but he moulds history on it. The lecturer tells us that in the last year of Parakrama Bahu VI., which we know was 1467, the name of the feudatory king at Kandy was Jotiya Situ Raja. Nine years earlier the *Vaiparamalai* says, the king at Kandy was Bhuvaneka Bahu. Whether both names refer to the same person or to two consecutive Princes, is immaterial. The fact remains that at the period named, Kandy was a sub-kingdom of Cotta, and was ruled by a feudatory. In 1458 then, according to the lecturer's own authority, this feudatory was attacked and humiliated by the king of Jaffna, who laid his vanquished toe under contribution, and who, puffed up with a victory surpassing his expectations, assumed the high-sounding title of Emperor of Ceylon.

We know what followed (page 38 of this paper, top). On the news reaching Cotta, "Tell him" says the old Parakrama Bahu in a tall rage, "Since it ill becomes that there should be two Emperors in Ceylon, I have sent my General to relieve you of that new title." Now mark the words, *that new title*. The lecturer tells us that the new title meant a thing two hundred years old. I ask him—what is the estimate which he puts upon the intellectual level of this Society? He says that the Sinhalese Emperor would not have made war if it was only a question of title. But why not? The army under Prince Sapumal despatched by the Sinhalese Emperor was fast approaching Jaffna when Jayawira fled. The Sinhalese Prince held the country for about nine years and ruled with justice and mercy. But at the end of that time the Emperor had died, and the gallant Sapumal, to the regret of succeeding generations, turned traitor to the imperial house. He marched his army southward, took and put

to death the young Emperor who had succeeded the last, and himself ascended the Imperial throne as Bhuvaneka Bahu VI. In the confusion, the Tamils regained their liberty, and Jayawira returned. [Mudaliyar Gunawardhana, taking his facts from the *Vaipavamalai* and the *Mahawansa*, gave a short account of the history of Jaffna from this point to the conquest and extinction of the kingdom by the Portuguese. He then proceeded]:—This is the result we arrive at from the joint but independent evidence of the *Mahawansa* and *Vaipavamalai*. What is the theory of the lecturer? He wants us to shift the place of Jayawiṛa three centuries earlier, and to fill up the vacuum created with an indefinite number of imaginary kings, so as to preserve the average for each reign within reasonable limits. He surmises that the *Vaipavamalai* may have given the names of only important kings, omitting others. Surmises—and the lecturer's paper is all surmises—are an absurd foundation for history. But even so, the lecturer here is faced with two difficulties. First, if only important kings were contemplated, Kanagasuriya, the craven, who is spoken of by the historian in terms of disparagement, would have been the first to be omitted. Secondly, the *Vaipavamalai*, in giving the close of each king's reign says that the king next named was his immediate successor. So that if the *Vaipavamalai* as an authoritative work is to stand, there is no room for the imaginary kings, and on the ground of chronology too the lecturer's theory completely fails. His misfortune was to have started with an initial idea that when the *Mahawansa* speaks of the sacking of Yapau by the first Ariya Chakravarti, then a Pandyan General in 1280, and the *Vaipavamalai* speaks of Jayawira's defeat of the Kandyan Prince in 1458, nearly two centuries later, they both refer to one and the same event, and that Ariya Chakravarti means not a name but a title. If it was a title, he will be surprised to hear that the *Vaipavamalai* gives the name of the man who is supposed to have won it, devoid of such title entirely, Jayawira even at the

close of his reign being spoken of as Jayawira Singa Aryan and nothing more. However, the lecturer started with his initial ideas and we have this paper, the most curious and the most extraordinary I think that ever came before a learned Society.

Mudaliyar R. C. Proctor said:—

From the defeat of Bhuvaneka Bahu I. by Ariya Chakravarti to the subjugation of the kingdom of Jaffna by Sapumal Kumaraya—a period of nearly 180 years—the history of our Island is obscure.

Dr. Paul's paper relates to this period.

Largely availing of the evidence afforded by contemporary history of countries which had political or trade relations with Ceylon and references of foreign travellers, epigraphical evidence, and local traditions, he has, with great judgment and ability, set out in a chain the principal events of the period. He maintains, on the facts, that during this period the Jaffna kingdom held the overlordship of Ceylon.

In criticism, however, it has been urged that (*a*) the identification of the Ariya Chakravarti who carried away the tooth-relic with the ruling king of Jaffna could not be accepted as satisfactory and that (*b*) the account of *Vaipavamalai* should be rejected as unreliable.

The claim of the king of Jaffna to the title of Chakravarti was also questioned.

As regards the question of identification, students of Sinhalese history are aware that Sinhalese chroniclers have referred to the kings of Jaffna as Ariya Chakravartis, and by no other name.

As to the origin of the title *Ariya*, an old Tamil book entitled *Sekarasasekera-malai* explains that, before his return to India, Rama appointed two rulers to carry on the government organised by him and conferred on them the title *Ariya Kings* and that the Jaffna kings were lineal representatives of that ancient Government and inherited the title.

"அவர் தங்களிருவர், சகல சங்குபடி வரங் கொடுத்தமர
செழுங்கள மானைகையு, மசகி சருத் யாரிய கேசரிதன்றனி மணிப்ப

ட்டமுங்கொடுத்துத், தேசமுடையு மொற்றையும் வெற்றித் திகழ்வி
டைத்து வசமுமல்க,"

If this was the claim of the Jaffna royalty, the overlordship of Wanni and the pearl fishery was theirs by right. *Vaipavamalai* corroborates the *Mahawansa* in the main facts relative to the defeat of Bhuvaneka Bahu, but adds that the parties rushed to arms over a misunderstanding with regard to the pearl fishery.

In Quartemeré's *Arabian Memoir on Egypt*, we find an account of an Embassy to Egypt from a Sinhalese King ABU-NEKBAH-LABABAH. That the reference is to Bhuvaneka Bahu I. admits of no doubt. There must be some object in seeking alliance with a king interested in the Persian Gulf pearl fisheries. Had Bhuvaneka Bahu been estranged from the Pandian rulers? The *Mahavamsa* suggests that it was so; thus it would seem that the Sinhalese king had to look for expert divers to work the Fishery from outside the Pandyan subjects. *Vaipavamalai's* reference to the cause of the war thus gains support from the Arabian reference. The *Rajavalia* describes Ariya Chakravarti as the "King of the Ceylonese Malabars." In *Ceylon Portuguese Era* by Dr. Pieris, Jaffna is described as "the seat of Ariyavamsa," obviously an expression found in the Portuguese records.

Ibn Batuta's account of Ariya Chakravarti of his day seems to lend support to the account of *Vaipavamalai* as to how the Chakravarti's position came to be so established. A stone inscription found in Kegalle (Sessional Paper No. 19 of 1892, page 15) refers to the formation of a league of Rajahs under Wickrama Bahu III. in order to oppose Ariya Chakravarti. The decipherable portion reads thus:—"They will not transgress (the compact) and having sworn by the tooth-relic of the All-knowing one"—here follows the description of other forms of oaths. The fate that befell this compact is the subject of another stone inscription in Tamil, found not far from where the former was found.

It reads thus:—

சேது

கங்கணம் வேற்கண்ணினையார் காட்டினர்
காமர் வனப்பங்கயம் மேற் றிலதம் பாரித்தார
பொங்கொலி சீர் சிங்கை ஏக ராரியனைச் சேர
வனுரசர் தங்கள் மடமாதர்தான்.

Translation

Who bewailed? Who supplicated? They were the innocent, coy, and lovely ladies of the Anuraser (Joint-Kings) who opposed the Aryan of the city of Sinkai, whose train is ever followed by high-swelling acclamations.

It would seem that a system of Government by joint (or associated) kings (Anurajahs) had become popular both in South India and Ceylon. The author of *Sarasothimalai*, the court astrologer of Prakrama Bahu II., describes his master and patron as the chief of an alliance of five kings, the four were the guardians of the four directions, and he was the *Dharma* of the *Panchavas*. It is curious to note that the authority of Anurajahs was co-extensive and their jurisdiction, at least in theory, was concurrent. The system, peculiar as it is, has made the unravelling of the chronology of the kings most difficult. In later times it proved a veritable source of trouble, tending to disintegration. If two kings had ruled together at Gampola or two different kings had at the same date granted Sannas, it should not excite our surprise. It was lawful under the system.

The date assigned to the coronation of the first Chakravarti at Sinkai Nagar (Nellore) in Jaffna was impugned. It is not likely that Mailvagana Pulavar could have made a mistake over so popular an event. The inaugural ceremony of the Nellore Kandasamy temple also took place the same year. The date was verifiable from Stala puranams, Paramparave legends and popular songs—*Visvanatha Sastriar Sampava Kureppu* supports the date. The argument based on the assumption that

Kamban was the contemporary of Rajaraja who closed his reign "a few years after 1200 A.D." is valueless, since it rests on a series of assumptions of little probative value. On the other hand, there is internal evidence in Kamban's own great work, *Ramayana*, to indicate that the author lived about the 8th century.

At one time it seems to be certain that Jaffna made use of a Kandam (era) of its own for astrological calculations, etc. It commenced some day in February 1243 A.D. It was suggested that this date should be taken as the date of the coronation—Why?

Sir P. Arunachalam (President), Dr. P. E. Pieris (Vice-President), Mr. W. A. de Silva, Mudaliyar Vaithianathan and Mr. A. de S. Kanakaratne also took part in the discussion.

Dr. Paul in Reply

My paper has evoked a good deal of criticism. The greater number have taken individual facts and figures and subjected them to an isolated survey. When the *Mahawansa*, the leading historical work of the Sinhalese is silent on the subject of how and when the Singha Ariya Chakravartis of Jaffna imposed their sovereignty on the Sinhalese and how later on King Parakrama Bahu VI. overthrew this domination, one has to search for glimpses of this struggle from the *Rajavalia*, *Nikaya Sangrahawa*, *Kowul Sandesa* and *Selalihini Sandesa*. Further light is thrown in the works of foreign writers such as Ibn Batuta, Valentyn, Philaletes, De Couto, De Rebeiro. It is therefore necessary to get in the details of the history from such detached accounts and to survey the events of this period and examine individual facts and figures in their relation to the whole period covered by these events. One critic states that Chakravarti is a common name among the Bengalese of to-day and therefore cannot be taken to mean only an Emperor. There are several Englishmen called King and it does not therefore follow that when one speaks of King George that the word King is only a name and does not mean a ruler. Similarly, the word Rajah is used as a

surname by Indians and yet when we speak of Parakrama Bahu Rajah we do not associate the word Rajah with an ordinary name of a person.

As regards dates, I stated that Saka 1380 mentioned in the *Vaipavamalai* is clearly a copyist's error for 1180 as that date fitted in with the chronology of the events related in the *Vaipavamalai*. My critics declare that I stick to that date as mentioned in the *Vaipavamalai* for that particular event, while they are not prepared to allow the *Vaipavamalai*'s date for the establishment of the kingdom of Jaffna but would like to shift it by 240 years.

Both Mudaliyar Simon de Silva and Mudaliyar Vaithianathan have raised an interesting question as to whether the Sinhalese Ariya dynasty of Jaffna could have been established as early as 940 A.D. They base their contention on the statement given by the *Vaipavamalai* that Kulankai Singha Aryan, the first king of this dynasty, brought with him to Jaffna as settlers many Vellala families, among whom was one Mannadu Konda Mothalali, of a high Vellala family, in honour of which the poet Kamban had composed a poem. Kamban's *Ramayanam* was composed according to them in 1185 A.D., and therefore they argue that a descendant of Kamban's contemporary could not have come to Jaffna in 944 A.D. But a good deal of controversy is still being carried on as regards the date of Kamban. The traditional date for Kamban's *Ramayanam* is 885 A.D. Professor Krishnaswamy Iyngar in his book on *Ancient India*, p. 400, discusses this question in full. He states, so far as he knows no sound argument against the date 885 A.D. has been brought forward except the statement that a Chola ruler at the time was a Rajendra. The name Rajendra is so common among the rulers of the Chola dynasty that we cannot at all be positive as to which personage it actually refers to without extraneous support. If the date of 885 A.D. be accepted as the date of Kamban's *Ramayanam* it would be possible for a descendant of Kamban's patron to come to Jaffna in 980 A.D.

The next argument which deserves attention is one that has been urged by a good number of my critics, and that is that the list of kings as given by the *Vaipavamalai* from 948 A.D. to 1627 A.D., is too short, giving an unusual average for each ruler. I anticipated it in my paper and gave as my reason that the author of *Vaipavamalai* had only given the names of the more important kings. Most of the old written historical records of Jaffna have been lost and the author of the *Vaipavamalai* had to rely on local traditions and one or two works such as the *Kailasamalai* and *Rajamurai*, which were in themselves incomplete historical accounts. The main works were, it is surmised, lost when the Portuguese destroyed the temples in Jaffna. Rev. Father Gnanaprakasar of Jaffna has recently published a book on the kings of Jaffna during the Portuguese period compiled from accounts given by Portuguese writers. After the Sinhalese invasion by Sapumal Kumaraya, the *Vaipavamalai* mentions only three kings while the Portuguese writers give a list of nine kings. If the author of the *Vaipavamalai*, who wrote his book in 1736 A.D. had only remembered the names of three kings instead of nine during the Portuguese Period, how much more probable it is that he would have omitted to mention a number of minor kings who had done nothing worthy to be remembered by posterity.

Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardene says that the *Vaipavamalai* does not call any of its kings by the name of Chakravarti. The *Mahawansa* does not call any of the Sinhalese rulers emperors, and yet a good number of them laid claim to that title and were referred to by that title by foreign writers. Among Tamil writers the author of *Yalpana Charithram* calls the rulers of Jaffna Chakravartis and the *Rajavaliya* and other Sinhalese works refer to the rulers of Jaffna as Ariya Chakravartis.

In 980 A.D. the kingdom of Jaffna was founded. In 1287 A.D. an Ariya Chakravarti sacked Yapahu and carried away the tooth-relic.

In 1344 A.D., that is 57 years after the last event, Ibn Batuta describes an Ariya Chakravarti as Sultan of Ceylon while he refers to the Sinhalese king as the Sultan of Conacai. Further, he states that Ariya Chakravarti was a powerful king upon the sea and had a numerous fleet and that he showed him a number of pearls.

As regards Kulasékera of Madura and Ariya Chakravarti, Prof. Krishnaswamy Iyngar was kind enough to send me a reference in No. 110 of *South Indian Epigraphy*, which reads as follows, viz:—

"On the second Gopura of the Jaganatha Swami Temple of Tirupullam, to the left of the entrance, a Pandyan inscription of the 37th year of Maravarman *alias* Tiribhuvana Chakravartin Kulasékera deva, who conquered every country, in Tamil alphabet, which is mutilated and which records an order of a certain Ariya Chakravarti."

It is a pity that this inscription is mutilated as otherwise it would throw a good deal of light on the question raised in this paper. The 37th year of Kulasekera corresponds to 1305 A.D. In 1288 A.D. Bhuvaneka Bahu I. died. If the *Vaiparamalai* account is correct we have to add to this 12 years during which the Jaffna king exercised full sovereignty over the whole of Ceylon. This will bring us to the year 1300 A.D. as the year in which the kingdom was restored to Prakrama Bahu III. This brings us close to 1305 when the inscription above referred to was made. It referred probably to the undertaking made by king Kulasékera that the Sinhalese king would pay tribute to the king of Jaffna.

The Sinhalese poems speak of the king of Jaffna as Ariya Chakravarti, king of Canara, and the people of Jaffna are referred to as Canarese and my supposition that the Canarese fleet which attacked Parakrama Bahu VI. was that of Ariya Chakravarti is rendered probable by the fact that Ariya Chakravarti had a powerful fleet.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

THE KANTARÓDAI FINDS.

In a footnote to my second paper on "Nágadípa and Buddhist Remains in Jaffna" (Vol. XXVIII., No. 72, p. 61) I referred to a suggestion advanced by my son that some of the articles collected by me at Kantaródai were Egyptian in origin. I have since had the opportunity of consulting Professor Flinders Petrie, who accepted the suggestion without hesitation; the beads and *kohl* sticks, he said, were Egyptian of the Roman period, 200-400 A.D. The single-knobbed *kohl* sticks were more archaic than the double-knobbed, while the very small ones when in use were attached to a quill or piece of wood which served as a handle. He also pointed out that in the case of the glass beads, in the more ancient specimens the glass was drawn out in straight lines, while in those from Kantaródai the movement was circular; this was proof of their more recent origin. He was good enough to show me a specimen of green glass dating from before 6000 B.C. He identified some of the beads as being of jasper.

P. E. P.

ANDREWS' EMBASSIES TO KANDY IN 1795 AND 1796.

(JOURNAL, VOL. XXVI., No. 70, PART II.

The following are errata:—

Heading of pages. For "ANDREW'S, read "ANDREWS' ".

Page 50, line 9 from top. The sentence which begins here should read. "He became 'Senior Merchant'

in 1790. Second in Council at Cuddalore in the following year, and Collector in the Trichinopoly District, 1792."

Page 57, lines 8 and 9 from top. Omit "for we find him Collector in the Trichinopoly District from 1804 to 1808."

Page 57 line 9. For "In the latter year" substitute "In 1808."

J. P. LEWIS.

OLD DUTCH PANEL.

By E. REIMERS, GOVERNMENT ARCHIVIST.

The old Dutch oil painting just purchased by Government for the Museum is of more than ordinary interest. It is a panel (of Sapu? wood) in a perfect state of preservation bearing on the obverse the following verses in gilt letters:—

GELYK DE GULDE MAY DEES AARDE DOED HERLEEVEN
ZOO VINDEN WIJ ONS OOK BLIJMOEDIG AANGESPOORT
ONS DIERBAAR OPPERHOOFD DEES EERSTE EER TE GEEVEN
DIE HEM AAN CIJLONS STRAND ALS VADER TOEBEHOORT

Below the verses appears what presumably is the *Opperhoofd's monogram, also in gilt lettering, on a heart in red, the monogram and the heart being encircled with a laurel wreath. This side of the panel is also ornamented with roses and, conspicuously, at the bottom, a love-knot. The verses may be rendered freely as follows:—

As when the golden May renews this earth,
So, joyfully, our greetings we extend
To our dear Opperhoofd whose kindly worth
Endears him as a father and a friend;
And, as first welcome back to Ceylon's strand,
We hand this to him as he steps on land.

*Chief resident officer of a Dutch subaltern station.

The translation has been amplified by me with the help of the "context," viz., the picture, on the reverse of the panel, of what appears to be Colombo Harbour with a part of the fortifications and the Governor's house in the background. In the foreground is the Governor's barge manned by Dutch sailors and with the Opperhoofd seated beneath the awning at the stern. In the distance is a three-master.

The barge appears to be on the point of *leaving* the wooden pier, but this would not be correct since the verses are clearly intended for a welcome—not a valediction: they were bound to be tinged with regret otherwise.

It is difficult to assign a date for the painting, but judging by the resemblance of the picture to an old engraving of Colombo in Baldaeus, the quaint orthography of the verses, and the peculiar rig of the three-master, I would place it as late 17th or early 18th century.

E. R.

RIGHT-HAND AND LEFT-HAND.

H. W. CODRINGTON, C.C.S.

The division of castes in South India into right-hand (வலங்கை) and left-hand (இடங்கை) is well known, but no satisfactory explanation of the fact is forthcoming.

A similar division also existed in Siam. J. Crawfurd, in his "Embassy to Siam and Cochin China," London, 1828, after noting the universal conscription for labour and for military or menial service, writes:—

"The whole population enrolled for service, as now mentioned, is divided into two equal divisions, called the division of the right-hand and the division of the left. Each of these again is subdivided into bands of

thousands, hundreds and tens, each of which has its own chief, who takes his title from the number of his band" (p. 375).

Of the two principal officers of state, corresponding to the Sinhalese adigars, the first or Kala-hom was considered the chief of the right-hand division of the enrolled population, chief of the military department and minister of justice, and superintended the south-western provinces of the kingdom, while the second or Chak-ri was chief of the left-hand division, minister of the foreign and commercial departments, and supervised the south-eastern provinces. Under the first named minister were the Yoma-rat or chief judge and the Tar-ma or governor of the capital and mayor of the palace; under the second were the P'houlat'hesse in charge of the land revenue and internal taxes, and the P'hra-klang entrusted with commercial affairs.

In Ceylon I am unable to trace any such division unless it be that of the chiefs into *dakuṇu aṇsaya* and *vam aṇsaya* according to their position in the Hall of Audience. The adigars, however, divided the kingdom between them, Pallégampahé Maha Nilamé having a general but limited jurisdiction over Seven Kóralés, Úva, Mátalé, Walapané, Wellassa, Bintenna, Nuwarakaláwiya, Tamankaḍuwa, Hárispattu, Dumbara and Héwáhéṭa, and Uḍagampahé over Four Kóralés, Three Kóralés, Sabaragamuwa, Uḍapaláta, Uḍunuwara, Yaṭinuwara, Tumpané, Kotmalé and Bulatgama.

A GIFT FROM VAN DER PARRA.

This illustration is a full-size reproduction of a little gold tray which was brought to me by Mideniya Adigar, as being the property of his wife. On a cursory examination of the Plate, one would be tempted to conclude that the article was a Medal, especially in view of the ring

affixed to it. This was intended for a chain with which the article could be worn hung round the neck, but a careful scrutiny of the original suggests that the ring is different in age and workmanship from the rest of the tray.

The inscription, as kindly translated for me by our Vice-President, Mr. Anthonisz, I.S.O., reads as follows:

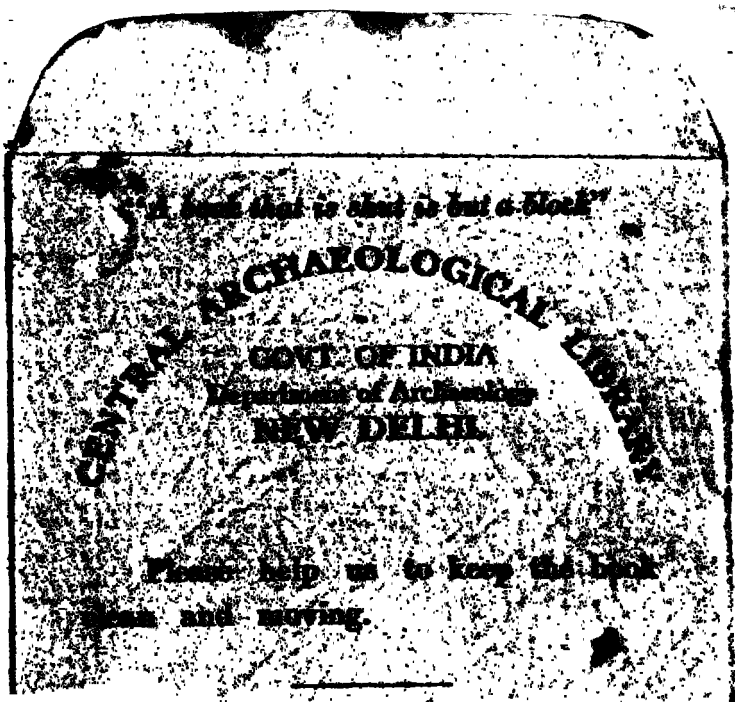
"This has been awarded to me, Don Siemon Wijewikereme Jaye Sieriwardene Moediliaar, as a Souvenir of the Illustrious Governor-General of Netherlands-India, the Right Honourable Petrus Albertus van der Parra, on the 20th September."

My notes are not available for reference, and therefore I am unable to say who the Mudaliyar in question was, or what he had to do with the Governor-General of Batavia, who succeeded to the office in 1763 and died in 1776.

The tray is slightly concave with the rim raised on one face only, and the reverse is blank. It may at one time very well have served as a pin-tray on a lady's dressing table, but the happy donee added the inscription and probably added the ring, so as to wear it as a Medal over his Mudaliyar's *Kabáya*. Can this be the ancestor of all those "Medals" which to-day fortunate people are able to persuade their friends and well-wishers to present to them on joyous occasions for a similar purpose?

P. E. P


Dit is 't Lot Een
Gedagtenis Van Zijn
Hoog Edelheid de heer
Gouverneur Generael Van
Nederlandts India, den Hoog
Edelen Groot Agtb. Heere
Petrus Albertus Van
Der Parra, Op den 20:
September 1764. zijn verkeerde
Worden Door Tomon wijkeren
me Sage Sieraderen Mardi
Liaar;


"A book that is shut is but a block"
ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY
GOVT. OF INDIA
Department of Archaeology
NEW DELHI.
Please help us to keep the book
clean and moving.